



KASHMIR AND CENTRAL ASIA
CULTURAL CONTACTS AND INTERACTIONS

KASHMIR AND CENTRAL ASIA

*[Papers presented at the Seminar on Kashmir and
Central Asia-Cultural Contacts and Interactions
September 1 - 3, 1987]*

Edited By

DR. B. K. KAUL DEAMBI

1989

**CENTRE OF CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES
Kashmir University Srinagar**

Kashmir and Central Asia-Cultural Contacts and Interactions.

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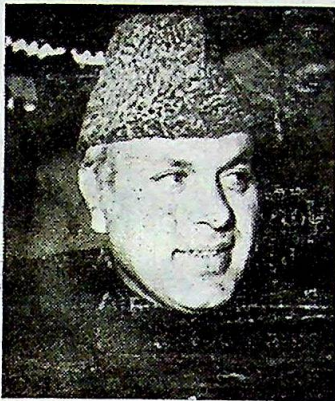
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*Chief Minister
Jammu & Kashmir*

MESSAGE

I am happy to know that the CENTRE OF CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES of the University of Kashmir has decided to publish the papers presented at the seminar on "Kashmir and Central Asia-Cultural Contacts and Interactions" held at the Centre during September 1 to September 3, 1987.

The papers presented in the seminar cannot be allowed to remain confined to a few scholars and therefore, their publication will allow the general public to share this wealth of knowledge. The papers contain some excellent research work on the various aspects of Kashmiri and Central Asian contacts through the ages. It is indeed a very sweeping canvas that has been painted by the contributors to the seminar. Religion, languages, marriages, agriculture, trade and many other aspects of the life find place in this valuable collection.

The publication of these papers will, I am sure, be a very significant contribution to this area of knowledge.

Sd/-

FAROOQ ABDULLAH

Jammu, the
December 26, 1988

The University of Kashmir



VICE-CHANCELLOR

UNIVERSITY CAMPUS
HAZRATBAL SRINAGAR

December 16, 1988.

"Kashmir and Central Asia" is the collection of research papers which were discussed in the Seminar on "Kashmir and Central Asia—Cultural Contacts and Interactions", organised by the Centre of Central Asian Studies of the University of Kashmir.

The main object of the Centre is to bring into focus the age old relationship between Central Asian region and India particularly Kashmir. The two have many similarities, some are quite visible, some, however, still need investigation and examination. Even though the regions are separated geographically thoughts and ideas have tendency to transcend all barriers. The present volume is a good testimony to this effect. It covers various aspects of cultural relationship between Central Asia and Kashmir. I am hopeful it will receive the attention of those who have scholarly interest in the comparative study of the two regions.

Sd/-
Mushirul Haq

EDITOR'S NOTE

I have great pleasure in placing at the hands of the scholars the book *Kashmir and Central Asia* containing the selected papers presented at the seminar on "Kashmir and Central Asia-Cultural Contacts and Interactions" organised by the Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir on September 1-3, 1987. The papers cover almost every aspect of the theme of the seminar and it is hoped they will prove useful to all those interested in the study of the close cultural ties between Kashmir and the countries of Central Asia existing from prehistoric times.

The book has been printed in Srinagar and owing to obvious difficulties it has not been possible to use the diacritical marks in all the papers. Despite our best efforts some minor printing errors have also crept into the volume and we crave the indulgence of the readers for the same.

Some contributors have made fair use of the monumental works of the great explorer and archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein on Central Asia. Some of the photographs published in his *Ancient Khotan*, 1907 have been reproduced in a couple of papers. We acknowledge the same with profound sense of gratitude.

The views expressed by the contributors in their papers are entirely their own and the Centre of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University, Srinagar does not hold any responsibility on this account.

We place on record our deep sense of gratitude to the contributors for their valuable contributions. We are also highly thankful to Shri Mehraj-ud-Din and Shri Farooq Ahmad, Proprietors, The Mahboob Printers and their team of young workers for the excellent cooperation extended to us in printing the present publication of the Centre.

Any comments, observations and suggestions regarding the book would be most welcome.

B. K. Kaul Deambi

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H. K. Kaul, Kashmir

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ADDRESS OF WELCOME

B. K. Kaul Deambi

It is our exquisite pleasure to extend our heartiest welcome to you all to the inaugural function of the Exhibition and the Seminar which are respectively the 10th and 8th in the series since the inception of the Centre of Central Asian Studies in May 1979.

Kashmir despite its isolated geographical position owing to high mountain walls that flank it on all sides never prevented the streams of thoughts, ideas and cultures from pouring in and out of the Valley and despite very limited and difficult means of communication she developed very intimate cultural contacts with her neighbours, Gandhāra, Afghanistan, Iran, Western Turkistan or Soviet Central Asia, Eastern Turkistan or Sinkiang, and Tibet even from prehistoric times. The study of the intimate historical, cultural and commercial contacts between Kashmir and the neighbouring countries of Central Asia provided a virgin, fertile and challenging field for research and investigation and precisely for this purpose and with this aim in view the idea of setting up a Centre of Central Asian Studies in this University was first conceived by late Sher-i-Kashmir Sheikh Mohd Abdullah. The idea was given a practical shape by the Tayabji Committee which was set up in 1977 and which drew up the plan for the Centre. Eventually the Centre was set up in May 1979 under the stewardship of Prof Maqbul Ahmad who was a member of the Tayab Ji Committee and had a long and fruitful experience of organising an Area Study Centre. Owing to the dedicated hardwork put in by the teachers and the students, very able and competent leadership provided by Prof. Maqbul Ahmad and the benign patronage extended by Sheikh Saheb and the then Vice-Chancellor Prof Rais Ahmad the Centre had a very good start. Initially our research activities were limited to Kashmir and Central Asia. However, just when within a span of couple of years the Centre made unprecedented progress, the

(ii)

University Grants Commission impressed by the achievements of the Centre granted it the status of an Area Study Centre set up by the U. G. C in different parts of the country. On the advice of the U. G. C's experts committee the field of our research was widened and we now concentrate on historical, cultural and commercial contacts between India and Central Asia from ancient to modern times with a particular emphasis on Kashmir.

Inspite of a very skeleton staff and meagre resources available in the Centre our achievements though very modest have not been altogether insignificant. The details of our achievements and the research programmes have been given in our Reports and News Letters issued from time to time. Five students of the Centre have already been awarded Ph. D degrees and four more have submitted their theses and the same are in the process of evaluation. Twenty students have been awarded M. Phil degree so far and three more have submitted their dissertations recently. The Centre has eleven publications to its credit and the teachers and the students of the Centre have published useful research papers in the reputed journals in the country. The Centre has also prepared critical editions and translations of important manuscripts in Sanskrit and Persian having a bearing on the history and culture of Central Asia and the same are ready for publication.

From May 1987 two more academic programmes have been started in the Centre. The study of the history and culture of Central Asia does not form a part of the curriculum either at the under graduate or at the post graduate level and hence to acquaint our students admitted to M. Phil and Ph. D programmes and the fresh teachers appointed in the Centre with the various facets of the history and culture of Central Asia from ancient to modern times we have started a series of lectures and panel discussions on the history and culture of Central Asia. There has been encouraging response from the students and the teachers and the attendance has invariably been 100 percent.

We have also started weekly seminars and the same are conducted on every Wednesday in which the teachers and students are provided an opportunity to present papers in their respective fields of specialisation.

The establishment of the Central Asian Museum in the Centre has been a great contribution to the Central Asian Studies and the same has won great applause and acclaim from the scholar visitors to the Museum both from the country and abroad. The Centre has also made significant discoveries in the field of archaeology and the same have been duly documented and reported in the press.

Till now we have been pursuing only two types of research programmes in the Centre :

- 1) Research programmes for M. Phil and Ph. D students.
- 2) Research projects taken up by individual teachers.

In keeping with the guidelines laid down by the U.G.C. as regards the area study programme we propose to take up following projects comprehensive in nature and interdisciplinary in character.

India and Central Asia - Political, Historical, Cultural and Commercial Contacts.

Vol. I Prehistoric and Ancient Period.

Vol. II Medaeval Period

Vol. III Modern Period.

Each Volume will comprise three parts. Part I, Soviet Central Asia and Iran. Part II, Sinkiang, Tibet and Mongolia, Part III, Afghanistan and Gandhara or North West Pakistan. In each Volume there will be a separate section on 'Kashmir and Central Asia.

This is a very colossal and gigantic task which cannot be completed by the meagre resources in terms of men and material available in the Centre. The posts provided by the University shall have to be filled up soon. The research work being interdisciplinary in character, there is urgent need to seek collaboration of the departments of allied disciplines in the University. Till now the collaboration has been limited to the supervision of M, Phil and Ph. D scholars. Ways and means will have to be worked out how this collaboration can be effected for the successful implementation and completion of our research projects.

Fortunately enough we have a few distinguished and erudite scholars in the Valley who though not directly associated with the University have been working in our field of study and participating in our Seminars. It should be our honest endeavour to see how best their talent, expertise and scholarship can be utilized by the Centre. One way of associating these scholars to our programmes would be to give them assignments with remuneration or offer them short term fellowships in the Centre.

No research work is possible unless we build up research facilities in the Centre and provide genuine and authentic source material to our students and teachers to work on. The great mass of source material has now become available as a result of series of explorations and excavations conducted in different parts of Central Asia by the British, German, French, Indian, Russian, Chinese and Japanese teams. Most of it is still unpublished and preserved in various reputed libraries and museums of the world. Attempts are being made to obtain access to this source material for without it no scientific and authentic research is possible. For this purpose every effort is being made to establish rapport with the British Museum and the India Office Library and the Centres of Central Asian Studies in Paris, Germany, China, U. S. S. R and Pakistan. Some beginnings in this direction were made by the Centre when the then Director, Prof. Maqbul Ahmad established rapport

with the Tajik Academy of Sciences during his visit to Central Asia in 1982. In pursuance of the agreement executed by the Centre with the Tajik Academy three teachers of the Centre got a chance to visit Central Asia.

Seminars are an essential part of our academic programmes for they provide us an opportunity to establish rapport and exchange views and share information with scholars not associated with the Centre but engaged in our field of study. The present Seminar on Kashmir and Central Asia-Cultural Contacts and Interactions, and the other of national level on India and Central Asia - Links and Legacies' to be organised shortly will provide a base for the projects the Centre proposes to take in hand shortly.

Kashmir's contact with Central Asia dates back to remote past and covers many aspect of human relationship, social, cultural intellectual, historical and economic. Caravans of men and streams of thought constantly moved between India and Central Asia and despite limited means of communication intimate cultural contacts developed between these two regions. On the basis of the overwhelming evidence that has now become available Kashmir did form part of Persian, Greek, Scythian, Kushan, Huna and Mughal state formations of Central Asia which included major portions of western and northern parts of the subcontinent. Frequent cultural intercourse and unrestricted movements of men and material from one region to other from ancient to modern times did lead to the mutual interactions, fusions, blendings and influences of different cultures, ideologies, arts and crafts etc. Though at this distance of time it is not easy to identify and distinguish layers of various cultures that settled one upon the other in the Valley but none the less an effort can be made to identify and distinguish different colour patterns and fabrics that have gone into the making of the mosaic of Kashmir's proud composite culture. The present seminar is an attempt in that direction.

Following the Upanishadic dictum "Through knowledge is attained immortality," and the Islamic traditional precept, "He who goes out in search of knowledge is working the way of God," the Kashmiri scholars made the Valley flourishing centre of Sanskrit, Buddhist, and Shaivite studies in the ancient period and of Persian, Sufi and Islamic studies in the medeaval times.

Throughout the ancient period Buddhism remained a predominant faith in Central Asia both in its eastern & western parts. The credit for disseminating the gospel of the Buddha in Central Asia goes to the dedicated Buddhist missionaries of Kashmir who risking their life travelling through the hazardous passes of the Hindukush, Pamirs and the Kara Korum carried the torch of Buddhist learning and culture to the inhospitable tracts of Central Asia devoid of any attraction for human habitation,

The greatest contribution of Kashmir to Buddhism has been the creation of the Buddhist canon in Sanskrit and the expository treatises on the Buddhist canonical texts which came to be known as *Vibhāṣā* and *Upadeśa* shastras. Applauding the merit of these works Huen Tsiang writes, "In these there is evidence of great study and research. In them we find extra-ordinary insight into the Buddhist lore of various kinds and also into Brahmanical learning, Indian alphabets and the Vedas and their Angas". The bulk of Buddhist literature produced in Kashmir is lost to us but partly preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations and in the fragments of manuscripts and inscriptions written in Indian scripts of Brahmi, Kharoṣṭi and Sharada, and in Sanskrit, Prakrit and local Central Asian languages that have come to light from numerous sites in China, Tibet, Sinkiang, Soviet Central Asia, Afghanistan and Gandhāra. The contribution of Kashmiri artists in the shaping and promotion of the famous school of Buddhist art called the Gandhāra school of art has now been recognised and it is not unlikely that Kashmiri artists and architects were at work in making Buddhist sculptures and designing numerous *viharas* in the entire

length and breadth of Central Asia which have been recognised as splendid specimens of Buddhist art and architecture.

Besides the Buddhist lore ancient Kashmiris excelled in profane sciences of medicine, pharmacology and astronomy. Number of texts on these subjects produced in Kashmir have been found in Central Asia. It is not unlikely that the great Baramaks or Pramukhs of the great Buddhist monastery of Balkh called Nava-Samghārāma or Navabahar who, after conversion to Islamic faith were pioneers in translating the famous works of Indian sciences into Arabic at Bagdad were either Kashmiris or educated in Kashmir.

The excellence of Kashmir in Indian sciences was extolled by no less a scholar critic than Albiruni who observed that "Kashmir was high school of Hindu sciences!"

While the great religious movement in Central Asia, viz., Buddhism and the study of Indian sciences in Sanskrit in the region was spearheaded by the dedicated missionaries and scholars of Kashmir the credit of introducing another world faith Islam and the Islamic sciences in Kashmir in the Medaeval period goes to the dedicated missionaries of Central Asia known for their piety, devotion and great height of spiritual elevation.

It was fortunate that Islam entered Kashmir from Central Asia, the region which owed so much to Kashmir in the realm of art and philosophy. It was still luckier that the Sufism was the predominant cult which was preached by the first Islamic missionaries in Kashmir. There was much in common between the Shaiva philosophy of Kashmir and Sufism and the basic tenets of Islam, the brotherhood of man, equality between man and woman and unity of God, and the cardinal doctrine of the Sufis that all forms of religion are equal appealed to the intellectuals of the age. Naturally, Islam especially its Sufi cult found a ready and warm

reception in Kashmir and a soil fertile enough for its rapid growth. Sayyed Sharaf-u-din, Sayyed Ali Hamadani and Mir Mohammad Hamadani had no difficulty in attracting a fair proportion of the population to the new faith.

Another significant contribution of Central Asia to Kashmir was the promotion of the study of Islamic sciences, Persian language and literature and several arts and crafts in the Valley. Great Dar-ul-Ulums and Madararas were established by the Sultans of Kashmir and the same manned by such reputed scholars as Mulla Ahamad Kashmiri, Mulla Hafiz Pagadadi, Mulla Parsa Bukhari, Mulla Jamal-u-din Khwarzami and others soon became important centres of Islamic learning and sciences and of Persian language and literature. However even when Persian was introduced as official language Sanskrit did not lose its popularity. It is well indicated by the fact that on many graves in the Valley epitaphs have been written both in Sanskrit in Sharada characters and Persian in Perso-Arabic characters. Many sale deeds were registered both in Persian and Sanskrit and the famous *wasiyat namah* of Sheikh Makhdoom Hamza popularly called Makhdoom Saheb now preserved in the S. P. S. Museum Srinagar is written in both Persian and Sanskrit in Sharada characters.

Some master artisans and craftsmen of Persia, Samarqand and Bukhara patronised by the great ruler of Kashmir Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin made Kashmir a museum of some excellent arts and crafts. Shrivara gives a first hand valuable account of the manufacture of carpets, shawls and silk fabrics in the time of the great Sultan. Mirza Haider Dughlat was wonder struck with the excellence of Kashmir's arts and crafts and the artistic genius of the Kashmiris. He writes, "In Kashmir we meet with all those arts and crafts which are in most countries uncommon such as stone polishing, stone cutting, bottle making, window cutting and gold beating etc".

The introduction and promotion of another important industry of Kashmir the paper industry, owes its origin to craftsmen from Samarqand known for the manufacture of superfine paper the

world over. The ink used to write on another indigenous writing material of Kashmir, viz, *Bhoja patra* (Brich bark) was indelible. The writing in this ink became more distinct and legible when soaked in water.

While the stone architecture represented by the grand edifices of temples at Martand, Avantipur, Patan and elsewhere characterised the ancient period of Kashmir, the wooden architecture represented by the Shahi-Hamadan mosque at Khanaqah, Jama Masjid and the Pavillions at Shalamar was characteristic of the Medaeval period and it appeared that the "Kashmiri Hindu mason of old had his rebirth in the Muslim carpenter of later days".

The message of human brotherhood and love that emanated from the synthesis of Islamic, Buddhist, and Shaivite philosophies of Kashmir became an indispensable and unsagregable part of Kashmir's lofty composite culture the echo of which we find in the famous *Vaks* of Lal-Ded, in the *Shruks* of Sheikh Nur-u-din and in the following lines of Abul Fazal which he is said to have got inscribed while laying the foundation stone of the temple of all faiths in Srinagar in 1587.

الہی بہ ہر خانہ کہے نگر م جوئے تو
و بہ ہر زبان کہے شنوم گوئے تو
کفر و اسلام در سے پوسند
وحدہ لا شریک نہ گویند

"God Almighty! wherever I go I find seekers after Thee and whatever I hear is in praise of Thee only. Both Muslims and non-Muslims tread Thine path alone, all uttering God is one and without partner"

CULTURAL ECOLOGY OF PREHISTORIC KASHMIR AND CENTRAL ASIA

S. L. Shali*

In the modern scientific world the findings of whatever nature have to be studied on multi-disciplinary grounds. Fresh evidences of an extremely interesting nature have been provided by the scientists while conducting researches in geology, geography, archaeology and bio-sciences. The results so achieved have thrown new light on the prehistoric periods and on different aspects of similarities and affinities between Kashmir and Central Asia¹.

We, at the moment, are very much concerned about the ecological imbalances but the field data have shown that palaeoclimatic and palaeo-environmental changes have been closely related with the development of Man and his society right from the prehistoric period. Man from early times has been capable of having a triumph over nature. The study of landscape, his settlement patterns, his tools and social system make the study of cultural ecology meaningful.

The archaeologists while applying the term culture refer not only to the remains of human activity at a particular period of its history but also the technique and development of human society as a whole in a region or regions which have common ecological features. Culture develops in a physical environment and in course of time carries with it regional differences.²

Man in the beginning took keen interest in understanding the definite knowledge of environment around him, the effects of natural forces, plants and animals. Climatic change is also an important variable in cultural or ecological studies.

Sh. S. Shali retired Deputy Superintending Archaeologist, Govt of India has been associated with our Centre for about seven years.

The word ecology is derived from the Greek "*Oikos*" meaning house or place to live¹. However, while defining ecological situation of a particular territory or territories, the climatic changes, periods of elevation and depression of land, the transportation of animals, the gradual stages of advances of human cultures have to be taken into account.³

Recent researches have indicated that the entire region of Central Asia which culturally extends from Iran in the west to China in the east carries common geological, palaeoclimatic, palaeological and above all uniform prehistoric cultures. It is marked by unbroken chains of mountains whether these are Pamirs, Tein-Shan., Kun Lun, Himalayas, Karakoram, Hindukush or Elburz. These have witnessed major cyclic changes and contain major landscape features resulting from the glacial erosion. The climatic oscillation has been the cause of the increase or decrease in population and also of the movements of the people from one area to another. The mountains of these areas enjoyed sufficient grazing lands favourably suited for the herds of the cattle and flocks of sheep. The configuration of mountains has exercised a profound effect on the ecology of the region. Some of the mountains of Soviet Central Asia, the modern regions of inner Mongolia and Manchuria are characterised by steppes which are open grass lands.⁴ These grassy or forest lands supported the population of prehistoric nomadic pastoralists who from time to time settled on lands around them and in this way came to exert a profound effect on the ancient history of the land.

Palaeoclimatic studies in recent years in the region have revealed a succession of loessic deposits with intervening layers of palaeosols⁵. Loess is a wind born rock dust carried from outwash deposits and moraines. It is the most sensitive recorder of past climates. Its stratigraphical record is of vital importance for palaeoclimatic deduction.⁶ It was laid down as a thick stratum during preglacial conditions of Pleistocene period⁷ The oldest form of

man evolved during this period and in archaeological terms the cultures classed as Palaeolithic⁸ fall within this period. Loessic deposit itself provided suitable grazing ground for the animals on which palaeolithic man fed and was later settled by Neolithic man who also found it easy to till with the primitive tools. Palaeosol—a dark brown soil developed within the loessic deposit itself because of warm and humid conditions. The soil is fit for vegetational operations. Both loess-palaeosol layers are very good continental palaeoclimatic indicators⁹.

In India Kashmir is the best known country where loess-palaeosol sequence is available.¹⁰ Exposure of these deposits show a continuity of larger record on the south west of Pir Panjal than on the north east of Himalayan flank. So far 10 palaeosol sequences have been observed in the loess formation of Kashmir¹¹ against 35 palaeosol or buried soil horizons which are distinct in southern Tajikistan loess formation¹². The structure of loess formation with the alternating soil horizons of palaeosols and again loesses are indicative of changing climate from relatively cold and dry to warm and humid and again to relatively cold and arid.

Multi-disciplinary investigations carried out in Central Asia have shown the existence of paleolithic artifacts in the palaeosol layers of southern Tajikistan¹³. Two huge sites of Karatau¹⁴ and Lakhuti¹⁵ were discovered and excavated. The tools comprise cores, choppers, side crappers and flakes in the time range of 130,000 to 350,000 years. Hearths, storage pits are absent. It turns out that temporary sites sprung up where hunting and butchering of animals were performed. Similarly the oldest stratified palaeolithic finds are known from other site of Kuladara¹⁶. These palaeosol layers in which earliest human occupation was noticed contained evidences of charcoal and forest fire, then the absence of hearths as reported is not understandable. However, the technological traditions shifted to stone working techniques on a larger scale which are represented in West Asia at Kermanshah and Tamtama in Iran¹⁷, Shandhir cave in Iraq¹⁸, Teshik Tesh in Central Asia¹⁹, Darra-i-Kur in Afghanistan²⁰, Soan valley in Pakistan²¹, east ward in Ordos

region near the Great wall of China²², and now in the Liddar valley of Kashmir²³. This tradition persisted well after the close of the pleistocene period some 10,000 years ago.

In Pakistan, Potwar region has also significant loess deposit²⁴. Some astonishing similarities of the tools have been found in Tosor in Kirgizia, Tomchisu in Turkmenia, Zarkutan and Semiganj in Tajikistan, Khoja Kant, Obirahmat and Ama Kutan in Uzbekistan, Borykazgan in southern Kazakhstan and at Hazar Sum in the valley of Samangon river in Afghanistan, Jammu in Jammu and Kashmir and Kangra valley in Himachal Pradesh. Above all Borykhazghan assemblage has been designated as the Soan culture of Central Asia²⁵. Shanghao cave²⁶ situated in the tribal territory of the mountaneous valley adjoining the former North West Frontier province now in Pakistan has yielded significant results. The finds here show a continuity of the old stone age culture in a massive deposit which is rich in bones as well. Though the discoveries at cave are interesting, the question arises as to why human remains should not have been there. Animal bones found there could be deposited by other animals also. The stone age material (both microliths and upper paleoliths) have been found in and outside the cave which indicate that the cave man who occupied it lived in the open and later on shifted inside the cave. Not only this, it also suggests that these prehistorians used the cave as a temporary shelter and were on the move. Such processes, it appears, took place in the specific conditions of mountaneous regions and were affected by frequent migrations of ancient tribes with different techniques of stone cutting traditions²⁷. It is also believed that both Central Asia and Indo-Pak-Afghan region derived this element from a common source in Iran and Iraq²⁸, and Mardan district of West Pakistan where the Shangao cave lies served as a transition zone between India and Central Asia²⁹. The cave finds also appear to have some close ties with the Central Asian Upper Palaeolithic cultures. Homonid remains of Upper Palaeolithic period are fragmentary in Central Asia as compared to Neanderthal man. Skeletal remains (17,000 B. P.) though in pieces are coming from some of the graves like Malta in Siberia

and Ukraine valley³⁰. The changes could be attributed to palaeo-environmental factors pertaining to ancient landscapes and of habitats and to socio-economic strategies of the cultural environment of prehistoric populations in South Asia³¹.

The loessic stages in China have witnessed the appearance of *Homo Spaiens* in South China and human skulls and the tools in the North China loess³². The loessic in China and Kazakistan correlate well with those in Kashmir and with the deep sea sediments³³. As compared to it, the top most paleosol at the excavated neolithic site of Bur-zahom is dated 18,000 B. P. and the lower most 31,000 B.P.³⁴ though thermoluminescence dates go much more beyond these dates³⁵. The most fundamental question arises that if palaeolithic sequence stands well documented in loesspalaeosol deposits in Central Asian region, then why these are reported to be barren here though field investigations have been going on for the last 8 years. No traces of palaeoman or any of his industry has been found in these deposits so far. No doubt, the palaeosol sequence has not been probed into or excavated at any of the sites and as such the controversy still remains. Till then we have to believe that the region was subjected to tectonic movement resulting in the formation of a barrier across the valley. This obviously brought about changes in the ecological setting of the valley and thus restricted the movement of palaeoman to the valley³⁶. If so, then for what the formation of palaeosol sequence in the valley stands for. Scientific research in this regard is the need of the hour. Contrary to this, we do get upper Palaeolithic tradition in the valley. In this regard, an interesting discovery of a neolithic industry of a pre-neolithic element was made. More than 100 artifacts were collected from Sombur (Pulwama) represented by burins, points and borers. These were recovered from gullies and the excavated loessic surfaces. It thus appeared that this industry stratigraphically underlies the Neolithic horizon which generally appears on the top of loessic plateau. Unpolished axes, pounders and flakes have also been recovered in aceramic neolithic deposits from Kulla Dour, Huin, Bhat Chak (Baramulla), and Khan Sahib (Badgam). These

lithic tools were noticed for the first time and their cultural horizons ascertained. These mark distinct upper palaeolithic techniques and show clear technological affinities with the preceding neolithic cultures³⁷.

The neolithic culture of Kashmir shows certain unique characteristics which apparently singles it out from other known neolithic cultures of India. It is now well documented and show definite traces of Central Asian interactions.

The first upper Palaeolithic dwelling in Soviet Union is at Gagarino. It consisted of a shallow scooped out pit oval in plan. The roof was supported on poles covered by branches of trees or animal skins. Five such earth houses and several dug out storage pits were found at Timonovka also. Besides winter houses represented by these pits, traces of hearths were found near the mouths of the pits which suggest that the people lived in the open air and prepared food. Such dwellings were found at Malta in Siberia also. The people enjoyed an environment in which warmth loving animals and plants lived³⁸.

Our ancestors in the Neolithic period used such very types of dwellings. The findings of the excavated sites of Burzahom (Srinagar)³⁹ and Gufakral (Pulwama)⁴⁰ indicate that the settlers had learnt the technique of scooping out pits for purposes of their habitation. Earth houses represented by pits oval, square or rectangular in plan what we term as 'dwelling pits' were brought to light at these sites. Post holes on the periphery and in the corners of the pits were provided for fixing wooden posts on which roof was raised and which in turn was covered by birch bark or by the skins of the animals. Location of hearths near the mouths of the oval pits indicate that they lived in the open and used these in Sunny days while the hearths found in the centre of the square or the rectangular pits were utilised during inclement weather. Close by storage pits were utilised for storing birch, grain and other articles of day to day use. In addition to such pattern of settlements, there are other distinctive assemblages the parallels of which are to be found beyond the frontiers of

India The ceramic industry represented by coarse and grey ware and black burnished ware (being the delux ware of the site) shows an advanced type of kiln and an organised pottery industry which we do not come across in the earlier stages of aceramic levels. Pottery often met with mat impressed bases indicate the knowledge of weaving. Specialised types of bone and stone tools are also nowhere found in India. Burial practices or burying of pet animals with the masters are also significant traits having no parallels in the subcontinent. The neolithic men of the period adapted the existing environmental condition, developed technique of ground and polished tools (stone and bone), domesticated animals and started agriculture though on a small scale. The affinities or the association of such a culture is found in the areas having similar type of environmental features.

Yangshao and Lungshan are two neolithic cultures in North and West China which represent a similar type of neolithic culture as found in the valley. Yongshao culture penetrated into China through the forests and steppes of northern frontiers of Sinkiang, Mongolia and Manchuria. The Pan-po-tsun village settlement is represented by square, rectangular or round houses with storage pits⁴¹. The stone tools represented by axes, adzes, chisels, double edged celts, grinders, querns and bone tools like needles with or without eyes, awls, fish hooks, arrow heads, spears, points, beads, combs, scrapers, double edged points, bodkins and above all perforated harvesters (mostly in stone) reveal beyond doubt some sort of affinity with Burzahom neolithic industry. Even the burial customs of burying the dead within the habitational area at Burzahom is evidenced from such customs practised by neolithic people of both Kashmir and China. Apart from this, such similarities in one way or the other are observed in other regions of Central Asia. Common cultural traces are found in the neolithic cultures of Central Asia distinguished by Djeitun culture of Turkmenia, Hissar culture of north Iran, Keltminar culture at the sites located near Aral sea and the Gissar Culture spread over in different parts of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan,⁴², Ghalighai, Loebnaur, Sarai Khola⁴³ in West Pakistan⁴³.

At Aq Kupruk in Afghanistan, lithic and bone assemblages and finger impressed pottery as found at Burzahom are noticed⁴⁴. In Iran at Siah Tape, round houses of mud bricks ascribable to neolithic period were found⁴⁵.

Post glacial climatic conditions were more suitable in Iran for the growth of wild barley and wheat which found its way to Turkestan and through Baluchistan to Afghanistan and Central Asia⁴⁶. It also travelled to Kashmir since it happened to be staple food for the neolithic people. The economic basis of the first agricultural community of Soviet Central Asia is indicated by the presence of wild barley and wheat in the Djeitun neolithic culture which had its inspiration from such sites in Iran and other areas of 'Fertile crescent'⁴⁷. Iranian influence is noticed in the mature neolithic culture of Burzahom also. In period II of Burzahom neolithic levels, a very interesting find was a medium sized globular vessel bearing a painting of a mountain goat with long horns on either side. Such typical motifs are found at Hissar in Iran and also at Kot Diji in Sind⁴⁸. A Copper barbed arrow heads, mid rib ring and a bangle at Burzahom (1700 B.C.) and a copper hair pin with flattened coiled head from the upper levels of the neolithic period at Gufakral⁴⁹ depict a process of intrusion from a contemporary culture across the borders of the sub-continent.

The excavations of the two major sites in the valley, viz, Burzahom in Srinagar and that of Gufakral in Pulwama and a trial dig at Kulla Dour (Baramulla) testify a common cultural background with frequent contacts with the regions of Central Asia. It is observed that more brilliant manifestations of Burzahom can be pointed out in hilly regions of South Tajikistan. The two main contact routes were Srinagar-Baramulla and Srinagar-Leh national highways. Neolithic settlements were discovered quite recently on both these routes. Discovery of such sites in the Sind valley carries special significance as the route was used on a regular basis till late medaeval times⁵⁰.

The cultural ecology of the prehistoric man in Kashmir and Central Asia offers, therefore, a fascinating and also a challenging story⁵¹. Man took better advantage of the environmental setting around him like the river terraces, the forest lands, wild life and the wild cereals which he cultivated himself. The climatic conditions were more favourable which made him to come into contact with the people outside the valley, though the topography of the land marked by sinuous hill ranges restricted his movements. This process led him to concentrate on hunting and fishing in the regions concerned and induced him to resort to some sort of related isolation. However, the material equipment amply testifies to man's mastery over the environment which made him to improve his economic life from hunting and food gathering stage to agriculture and domestication of animals. In fact man's occupation, food, clothing and shelter largely depended on ecological considerations⁵².

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1. S. Maqbool Ahmad, "Central Asia & Kashmir" in *Central Asia & Western Himalayas-A Forgotten Link*, (Ed. G. M. Buth) Srinagar, 1986, p.2
2. In the earliest period of human history technologies and tools were the same among all groups. Later regional differences appeared and by the upper palaeolithic period, a great proliferation of technological traditions was evident.
3. Keane A. H, *Man, Past and Present*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 15.
4. The entire area has extremely seasonal and continental climate with long severe and short warm summers.
5. A multidisciplinary Kashmir Palaeoclimatic project was instituted in the year 1980 under over all supervision of the Project Director Prof. D. P. Agarwal, Area Chairman, Archaeology and Hydrology Area, Physical Research Laboratory, Ahmedabad. Foreign experts and scientists from Indian Universities including the Kashmir University collaborated in the project. Two international conferences were held in Ahmedabad in 1982 and 1986. These were attended by delegates from Soviet Union, France, Denmark, Japan, China, Nepal, West Germany and India. A number of multiple papers included multiple data on palaeoclimatic changes, formation of loess and palaeosol in Kashmir and Central Asia. The proceedings of the first International workshop on the 'Late Cenozoic Palaeoclimated Changes in Kashmir and Central Asia' have been published. See *Climate and Geology of Kashmir and Central Asia* edited by Agarwal, Krishnamurthy & Kusumgar, New Delhi, 1985.
6. This deposit is wide spread in the Kashmir valley. It is seen occupying the elevated benches, hill tops and the plateaus known locally as Karewas or Udars.

7. This period corresponds to Great Ice Age and is marked by an increasingly cold climate (Glaciation). The date for the start of the pleistocene is estimated to vary from 3.5 million years to 1.3 million years ago. The period ends with the final but gradual retreat of ice sheets which reached their present position around 8300 B. C.
8. Paleolithic period begins with the emergence of man and the manufacture of most ancient tools some 2 to 3 million years ago and lasted through most of the pleistocene ice age until the final retreat of the ice sheets about 10,000 years ago. It is divided into three stages, Lower Palaeolithic with the earliest forms of man-Australopithecus and Homo Erectus, Middle paleolithic-the era of Neanderthal Man and Upper Paleolithic with the emergence of Homo Sapiens-the ancestor of the modern man.
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10. Kusumgar Sheela, "Paleosols within loess Dating Paleoclimatic Events in Kashmir," Radiocarbon, vol. 28, No. 2 A 1986, pp. 561-565.
11. On the Pir Panjal side, the loess has a thickness of 25-30m with 10 palaeosols while on the Himalayan side the deposit continued till the final exit of the lake water. On this side the loess has a thickness of only about 10 m. with 5 palaeosols & Burzahom falls in this flank. (Agarwal, D. P., *Cenozoic Climatic Changes in Kashmir: The Multidisciplinary Date*, Climate & Geology of Kashmir New Delhi, 1983, p. 12.
12. Dodonov, A. E. (Moscow) & Lomov, S. P. (Dushambe), *Stratigraphy and Pedogenesis of Loess Formation Southern Tajikistan*, Climate and Geology of Kashmir, New Delhi, 1985, p. 223.

13. The studies were carried for a period of 10 years. The results so achieved prompted the archaeologists to reconstruct the environmental conditions under which the earliest people of Southern Tajikistan lived.
14. The site is situated at a distance of 54 kms. southeast of Dushmbe. The tools were found while excavating 6th palaeosol from the top of loess section.
15. It is situated 12 kms. to the south of Khovaling village on the right bank of Obimasar river. The artefacts were found in the 5th palaeosol situated at a depth of 55m. from top of loess section.
16. It is in South Tajikistan. It was excavated in 1981. The oldest stratified palaeolithic tools (25 in number) have come from the 11th and 12th palaeosols.
17. These prehistoric caves are in Iran. Kermanshah cave is near-Bistun in Southern Iran and Tamtama cave near Rezaiyeh. Excavations of these sites were taken up in 1949 and the finds are ascribable to fourth and final pleistocene glaciation.
18. Shandir cave is situated in the Zagros mountains 400 kms. north of Baghdad. It was excavated by Mr. Ralph S. Solecki for four seasons. It has provided an insight into the prehistoric Mesopotamian history. Besides palaeolithic tools, it has yielded skeletal remains of seven Neanderthal men.
19. Teshik Tesh lies 18 kms. north of Baisun region in Uzbekistan. It was excavated by Prof. A. P. Okladnikov 33 years ago. The significant discoveries were palaeolithic tools and child burial surrounded by a circle of five goat skulls. The cave seems to have been occupied on five successive occasions.
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CENTRAL ASIA AND KASHMIR

PAST AND PRESENT LINKS

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Irshad A. Navchoo

The very location of Kashmir helped it to secure elements from various countries of Central Asia from the neolithic (the earliest known culture of Kashmir) to the medieval times. The cultural interaction resulted in a culture compound of its own type at various stages of human development. The socio-cultural and commercial relations between Kashmir and the neighbouring countries of Central Asia continued to exist until modern times and were shaped only recently, (Ahmad,) 1986).

In protohistoric times, as mentioned in the *Nīlamatapūrāṇa* and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, there lived in the valley of Kashmir tribes called Nāgas, Piśācas and Yaksas who used to go in summer towards Tibet and Central Asia and return to the valley in winter (Stein 1961).

The present paper] overviews the archaeological and the archaeobotanical links between Central Asia and Kashmir.

Ancient Routes

An important factor linking the two regions is the gradual growth of land routes. These roads carved out by man since pre-historic times, connecting Central Asia with Kashmir and other parts of the subcontinent, played an important role in the dissemination of culture from one part to the other. Kashmir was a junction, where all the ancient trade routes connecting various countries of Central Asia met together. The important being the one called

'Silk route' which connected India with Central Asia. This route was used by caravans which brought silk from China to Persia and to the Levantine market (Yong, 1984). The other route was via Baramulla and Muzaffarabad through which many missionaries and travellers like Hieun Tsiang and Fahien entered the valley. Similarly the route via Balti, Gilgit and Chitral was also used. The route crossing over Zojila to Leh and thence to Lhasa and Yarkand was followed by men like Rinchana (14th Century) and Mirza Haider Doughlat (16 Century).

Survey teams from various archaeological organisations report 26 archaeological sites in the valley. It is interesting to note that almost all these sites are found around the above mentioned routes. Of these 14 sites were found around the Pirpanchal road leading from the valley to other parts of India. These are *Habshah Saheb*, *Begagund*, *Pinglish*, *Hariparigam*, *Gofkral*, *Shahpeadu*, *Pampur*, *Sempur*, *Sombur*, *Romu*, *Olchibagh*, *Panzgom*, *Balpura* and *Semihan*. Eight sites are found on Baramulla-Mazafarabad-Yarkand road. These are *Kririchak*, *Kuladar*, *Makamudra*, *Taparibala*, *Wanigam*, *Yahteng Gopas-udra*, and *Raiteng*. Two important sites *Burzhom* and *Huin* (Lar) fall on Srinagar-Leh-Yarkand road.

Floristic Links

a. General Flora :

Kashmir Himalayan flora in general reveals greater affinities with that of Central Asia than other floristic provinces of Irano-Turanian region. Amongst the largest represented families in Kashmir Himalaya, Brassicaceae, Polygonaceae, Rosaceae, Caryophyllaceae and Lamiaceae show more than 25% of taxa which are common to Central Asia. An analysis of this relationship amongst some natural orders is given below :

Family	No. of taxa in Kashmir	Taxa common with C. A.	%age of common taxa
Amaranthaceae	11	6	54.5

Onagraceae	28	12	42.8
Alliaceae	15	6	40.0
Brassicaceae	170	61	35.8
Rosaceae	90	29	32.2
Polygonaceae	65	20	30.7
Lamiaceae	85	24	28.2
Caryophyllaceae	77	19	24.6
Balsaminaceae	12	2	16.6
Dipsacaceae	6	1	16.6

Besides *Amaranthaceae* and *Onagraceae*, both with high percentage of common taxa, economically important families like *Brassicaceae*, *Alliaceae*, *Rosaceae* and *Polygonaceae* are also represented well in both areas. Among economically important genera *Brassica*, *Prunus* and *Allium* have 5 species each common to both areas. Further, maximum species diversity has been seen to occur in Central Asia which implies the diffusion of flora from Central Asia to Kashmir.

b. Crops

Centre of Origin : Vavilov (1926) proposed six main centres of origin of crops. Central Asia is one of these probable centres. The area was drawn so to include central and western parts of China, the southern part of Russia and northern parts of Indian subcontinent including Kashmir.

Darlington (1963) while proposing 15 major centres of origin of cultivated plants, retained Central Asia as one independent centre. He held that cultivation began independently in the old and new world centres and it was the neolithic expansion which carried agriculture from its earliest centres and partly shed the plants it carried with it. This can be applied to archaeological material of crops that actually originated in Central Asia and were/are cultivated in the valley.

Li (1970) while discussing origin of cultivated plants

pointed out that in Northern China belt many food plants, cereals, legumes, oil crops, vegetables and fruits originated and these could have been introduced by mankind in neighbouring areas which although having luxuriant flora had no native cultivated crops.

c. Weeds

Studies on the weed elements, their distribution and association with various crops, waste lands, orchards of Kashmir valley and Central Asia reveal a close relationship in habit and habitat of the regions. About a hundred species of weeds associated with different croplands, e. g., rice fields, wheat fields, orchards etc. are common to both areas. It is probable that some weed species associated with crops were introduced into Kashmir valley alongwith the earliest crops and fruits and subsequently established as weeds of different habitations.

Archaeological Links

Neolithic culture is the earliest known culture of the valley and many traits of this have their parallels on sites in Central Asia.

The structural similarity at Burzhom (2375 B. C) is marked by the presence of dwelling pits provided with postholes for supporting the superstructure to cover these with birch bark, reeds and hides. The presence of handmade pottery, use of polished tools represented by axes, sling balls, mace heads, hoes and pestles are important. The most significant and unique collection is of bone tools consisting of needles with or without eyes, awls, pins, arrow heads, daggers, perforated harvesters etc.

Certain tool types notably harvester, use of bone implements, and the practice of pit dwelling are elements quite familiar with neolithic culture of the east. The implement termed harvester in the neolithic assemblage of Burzhom is also common in the neolithic periods of Central Asia. In a way, Burzhom neolithic is but an organic extension of the semi-isolated character of the

Kashmir valley both in palaeolithic as well as the neolithic linking it more adventitiously to the tracts of Central Asia, China and the rest.

Plant remains

The plant material recovered from Burzhom indicates high frequency of dwarf wheat and lentil in all phases.

The horticultural crop remains (nuts and endocarps) of pears, apricots, walnuts, have been found in various phases in these sites from neolithic to Buddhist, Indo-Greek and Kushan periods, (But & Kaw 1985; Bisht 1986).

Wheat evolved in West Asia and its possible source at Burzhom appears to be the Harappan civilization. The geographical proximity of Burzhom neolithic is very close to Harappan culture. Being advanced and urbanized, the Harappans extended their sphere of influence to neighbouring areas and Burzhom could also have been one of them.

The presence of lentil in Burzhom neolithic further explains that neolithic people of Kashmir had wide contacts with other neighbouring areas. Lentil must have been brought to Kashmir via Central Asia. Lentil is definitely associated with the beginning of the agricultural revolution in the old world. It was more or less a regular companion of wheat and barley diffusion in the near east.

Pea originated in Central Asia and near east. Therefore, like wheat and barley, pea might have been introduced into the valley via Central Asian routes.

Amongst large number of crops reported to have originated in Central Asia, some have been introduced into Kashmir and are summarized as :

- (i) *Grain Crops* : Wheat, Pea, Moong, Mustard and Coriander.
- (ii) *Vegetables* : Carrot, Raddish, Onions and Garlic etc.
- (iii) *Fruits* : Almond, Apple and Walnut.

Conclusion

The similarity in cultural assemblage between the two regions is 'pre-historic. People, ideas and cultures came from northwest passes and contributed their mite to Kashmir culture. The neolithic settlement (3 million B. C) in Kashmir and Kazakistan (Central Asia) in our adjoining regions brought forth the idea of monumental integrated neolithic culture from North China to Kashmir. This is further borne out by the fact that phytogeographical relationships and similarities have led Vavilov (1926) to mark whole of Central Asia including Kashmir as one Centre.

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Though the *Mahāpurūṣavilāsa* of Bhavabhūti is not available, we still get a faintly reliable account of Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa's exploits and achievements through his coins and the narrative of Kalhana¹. In execution and planning, his campaigns take the same place in the history of this country as the military exploits of Alexander and Samudragupta before him. In many respects he excels both as a general and patron of arts and letters. Not only did he stem the rising tide of Arab expansion across the north-west frontier but also contained the manace of Tibetan expansion in Central Asia. When northern India was reeling under the onslaught of foreign invasions Kashmir witnessed a remarkable growth in art and architecture following a prosperous era of the Kārkota hegemony both over north western India and parts of Central Asia. Never before in the history of Kashmir do we meet a personality of such remarkable vitality and vision. Desertion of his allies and renewal of Tibetan incursions in the sandy wastes of Central Asia seem finally to have led to his most tragic end and the non-fulfilment of the dream of establishing a pan-Asian kingdom beyond the Pamir plateau².

The early life of Lalitāditya is obscure. All that we know about his pedigree is that he did not come of the Gonandiya line that had got extinct with the death of its last ruler, Bālāditya³. Sovereignty had passed into the hands of Durlabhavardhana who according to the Chronicler was the superintendent of Fodder for Horses⁴ (*aśva-ghāsa-kāyastha*) and being an important and influential minister at the court had won the admiration of his master whose daughter's hand he was able to obtain during his life time⁵. It appears that as a result of a palace revolution and the tacit support of a few ministers he succeeded to the throne of Kashmir after the death

of Bālāditya⁶. We learn from Kalhana that he was a scion of the Nāga Kārkoṭa⁷ from some unknown Kshatriya princess and his succession to the throne is stated to have passed from the noble line of the Gonandas to a nobler line of the Kārkoṭas which would suggest that the Kārkoṭas of Kārkoṭadrāṅga were either higher in social rank or may be that they were the Kārkoṭa Brahmanas whose matrimonial alliance was always sought after by the Brahmanas or Kshatriyas of an inferior rank.

It is, however, clear that Durlabhavardhana was an indigenous ruler who rose to the high office of kingship by virtue of his accomplishments and pleasing looks as also the strategic importance of the Kārkoṭa-drāṅga that commanded some vital trade routes over the Tozamaidan Pass to Central Asia and India. The dissent of chief ministers to his succession was overcome by the manoeuvrings of Khanḁha, his wife's paramour⁸. Immediately after his accession to the throne, Durlabhaka, the son and successor of Durlabhavardhana, took the name of Pratāpāditya⁹ in accordance with the usage of his maternal grandfather's family. All this evidence indicates that the Kārkoṭas had to adopt the long observed custom of the Gonandiyas in tracing their descent from their mother's side, a practice borrowed perhaps from their land of emigration in Central Asia. All these measures were taken to secure the support of the dissenting nobles and possibly the claims of some surviving distant claimants to the throne.

The rise of Kārkoṭas to power marked the beginning of Sino-Indian relation in the seventh-eighth century in which Kashmir played a key role. Candrāpīda, the son of Durlabhaka, had already entered into a mutual understanding with the Chinese ruler to face the twin threat of the Arab invasion in north west India and the expansionism of Tibet. Though it is not explicitly stated what their terms of the agreement were, it nevertheless follows from the Tang Annals that the Chinese were greatly concerned over this develop-

ment on their borders and so eagerly sought the friendship of the Kārkoṭas and the kings of Central India¹⁰. According to the Tang Annals we learn that Mu-to-pi. (Lalitāditya) maintained friendly relations with his contemporary Hiuen-tsung, the Chinese emperor (A. D. 713-755), and both contributed equally in meeting this common threat. Lalitāditya blocked the five routes of Tibet¹¹ and checked the Turks, who, it appears, must have been in collusion with the Tibetans. The event was marked as subsequently referred to by Alberūnī by the celebration of a festival on the second of Caitra every year¹² which indicates the importance of this battle in Central Asia.

Lalitāditya next marched towards the eastern regions and exacted tributes from the rulers ruling over the territories between the Ganga and the Yamuna¹³. After his southern campaigns¹⁴ and with the enormous booty obtained therein, he next vanquished the mighty kings of Utrāpatha. Once again turning to the Oxus region (Māwara an-Nahr of the Arabs), he marched towards Tukharistan and beat the Turushkas¹⁵. It appears that, but for brief interlude the major reign period of Lalitāditya (thirty-seven years) was occupied with his Central Asian campaigns. It is likely that in one of such final campaigns against the Tibetans, Lalitāditya must have got embroiled in a bloody warfare of Central Asia and most probably seems to have lost his life in the far off Gobi desert while in hot pursuit of the fleeing enemy¹⁶. Possibly the Chinese ruler, either due to his engagement in suppressing internal rebellion¹⁷ or defection seems to have failed Lalitāditya in holding back the Tibetans at a very critical hour. It is, however, certain that the Central Asian imbroglio killed Lalitāditya and his neighbours seem to have little realized the impending disaster from that quarter.

Having conquered Tukharistan (territories comprising Balakh and the adjoining tract on the upper Oxus), Mummuni, perhaps the Chief of a tribe on the upper Indus, the Bhauṭṭas (Tibetans), the Dards, expelling the Tibetans from Po-liu (Baltistan) Lalitāditya seems to have partially succeeded in his aim of establishing a Pan-Central

Asian federation of allies¹⁸. The Chinese emperor's refusal to oblige him with a second expedition against the Tibetans underscores the importance of Kashmir's position in Central Asia and the possibility of a stronger Kashmir emerging on her borders. The extensive conquests of Lalitāditya pushed the borders of his kingdom to north Bengal and Orissa in the east and Kanauj in the South.

Having established his sway over the major portion of north eastern Gandhāra¹⁹ and about a million square kilometers of Central Asia Lalitāditya opened Kashmir to all outside influences across her borders. The development of various dialects in Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit and the Kashmir valley shows a close alliance with the Tibetan and Dardic languages, which, it seems was the upshot of close political and cultural contacts with those areas. Should we, therefore, assume that the growth of Kashmiri dialect with a Śāradā script, in fact, started with the Kārkoṭas and that the first inscription in Śāradā characters coming from Afghanistan was not a fortuitous occurrence; and so is not the large treasure of manuscripts from Kucha, Khotan and other parts of Central Asia. The physiognomy, dress, etc., were considerably influenced by our mutual relations with Central Asia and China. The Kārkoṭas exercising direct control over all five routes to Tibet must have brought Eastern and Central Asia very close to us. A stream of Buddhism flowed in and out these routes and it appears that the main centres of Buddhist learning must have been thronged with venerable and pious *bhikṣus* from Central Asia and Tibet drawing in turn the Kah-che (Kashmirians) to the marketing and cultural centres of Yarkand, Kashgar, Kucha and Lhasa. Obviously the close association of Kashmiris with people from Central Asia considerably influenced their food habits, costumes and ways of life. The induction of Śāhis of Kabul and Gilgit also had a considerable impact on the apparatus of administration, and it is from this period onward that we come across the five different offices grouped together under the general nomenclature of *Pancamahāsabhā*, again an innovation of Central Asian polity.

Lalitāditya, in particular, maintained close contacts with Taklamakan as his Central Asian base and seems to have imported

a number of artists from its contiguous areas with China. He married the sister of Caṅkuṇa (Tsiang-kuin) and raised him to the position of the chief commander²⁰ of the armed forces.

If the suggestion that Caṅkuṇa was a Chinese title meaning a general be accepted as sound it seems that the whole of Central Asia particularly the Tarim basin was open to Chinese influence and a free exchange of artists and master sculptors took place between these countries²¹. The introduction of master sculptors into Kashmir from Central Asia and China brought a new technique in relief and the massive sculptures of the seventh-eighth century single out Kashmir as an important centre of art and architecture in the context of Indian sculpture. The construction of *Mongti - vihāra* at Huskapura and *Brhad - Buddha* at Parihāsapur a may be cited as the most typical illustrations of the continuation of such art techniques. This may be called the Central Asian Architecture, a blending and coordination of Gāndhāra - Sino Kashmirian Art. The Muktasvāmi temple at Ushkur and the Martand temple are the two more illustrations of this art employed in the execution of Brahmanical and Buddhist icons.

The Tukhāra Caṅkuṇa founded the Caṅkuṇa Vihāra and another one at Srinagar, besides a lofty stūpa and golden images of the Buddha. This, as also the itinerery of Ou'-kong would suggest that the Tukhāras founded numerous Buddhist sacred places²². A large number of buildings and foundations indicates the extent of Lalitāditya's resources and his patronage of master sculptors. The grand temples of Martand in the Anantnag district and the Āditya shrine of Lalitpura (mod-Litpor) show the introduction of the sun and moon concept under Central Asian influence. Are we to regard the Fundakistan sculptures as the source of such inspiration in the construction of sun temples? Obviously the massive and grand structure of Martand could not be the work of Kashmiri sculptors alone. It drew its inspiration and execution from other sources as well. Both the silver images of *Parihāsakeśaue* and *Viṣṇu Muktasvāmin* made of gold, seem to be the work of Tukhāra sculptors,

who are understood to have been highly advanced in metallurgy. Lalitāditya's queens and ministers too are credited with consecrating images in hundreds²³. The physician Īśānacandra, a son-in-law of the minister Caṅkuṇa, built a *Vihāra*²⁴. Every village seems to have turned into a site of architectural activity and even in the wastes of Central Asia, *Strirājya* was endowed with the image of Nanhari (Vishnu)²⁵.

To Śīva Bhuteśa be made an expiatory offering of perhaps eleven crores of dināras²⁶. This would suggest that Lalitāditya enjoyed a substantial social surplus drawn from his villages covered under the network of a state organised irrigation system, and feudatory territories which contribute largely towards the construction and maintenance of these massive structures. The drawing of water by water whels at Chakdhar (perhaps an innovation of the Central Asian engineers) and its distribution to several villages, the reclaiming of marsly lands, the raising of bunds or embankments, only shows Lālitaditya's anxiety to have a regular and uninterrupted supply of social surplus for his building activities and far-off expeditions. Once the strong hand of the ruler was withdrawn, feudal tendencies got intensified, resources dissipated and both art activites and foreign expeditions were stultified. The subsequent reign period of Kashmir, says Prof. Bagchi, takes the leading part in the transmission of Buddhist traditions directly to China²⁷. The number of Buddhist scholars who went to China from Kashmir is larger than that of those who went from other parts of India. Kucha appears to have been the rallying point of such intercourse between the Chinese and Buddhist scholars from Kashmir. Ratnacinta (A. D. 653-721) a specialist in Vinaya, reached Lo-Yang (China) in A. D. 693 and founded a monastery there named Tien-Chee-sse (the monastery of India). He translated seven works from Sanskrit. Prajñabala, another monk, translated a few texts during the Tang period. Among the earliest missionaries who came to Tibet during Song-tsen-Gampo's reign were Tabuta and Ganuta²⁸. During the reign of Tri-son De-tsen as Śāntaraksita, Ananta and Vimalamitra ordained the Tibetan monks. Śāntaraksita founded the Bsam-Yas monastery.

Padmasambhava (b. Swat.), the father of Lamaism, lived and worked in Kashmir. Vairocana lived in Tibet as an incarnation of Buddha's faithful attendant and cousin Ānanda. He translated Sanskrit texts into Tibetan³⁰. Other Kashmiri monks of this period in Tibet are Dharmākara, Dānasīla and Jinamitra³⁰. The Tibeto-Kashmirian collaboration that had started with Thumi Sambhotta (A D 632) lasted several centuries. The introduction of the Sanskrit alphabet as used in Kashmir, preparation of eight manuals of grammar and the promotion of Vibhāsika or Sarvāstivādin school in Tibet in fact, started in the second quarter of the seventh century and continued down to the period of Lalitaditya. Kashmiri monks acted as teachers and translators Sarvajñamitra³¹, a bhikṣu, went to Lhasa and composed a number of texts in praise of the Goddess Tārā. We not know much about the composition of Vākpatirāja and Bhavabhūti after their arrival in Kashmir from Central India following the defeat of their master, Yaśovarman. Since this king of Kanauj too is reported to have sent a high level mission to China in A. D. 731 to seek Chinese assistance against the Arabs and Tibetans, it is likely that both of them contributed to the literature of Central Asia. Beehabhūti and Vākpati could hardly have missed to mention the political and cultural contacts of their patrons with Central Asia. All that Kalhaṇa has to say in this regard is that both Vākpatirāja, Bhavabhūti and other poets became by his (Yaśovarman's) defeat the panegyrists of Lalitaditya's virtues³². If Lalitaditya made Parihasapura his second capital, the reason obviously seems to have been to accommodate the princes and fugitives from all parts of Central Asia like Gandhāra, Taklamakan, Kucha, Khotan, etc. That Parihasapura was the rendezvous of both the nobility, the vassals, the master sculptors and the artists of the period is proved beyond any doubt by the colossal ruins of this once grand city built on the confluence of the Jhelum and the Sindhu and subsequently deserted by one of his sons Vajrāditya and plundered by notorious Śaṅkaravarman.

Lalitāditya enjoys a unique position in the history of eighth century India. When the Śāhis of Kabul were being harassed by the blows of Arabs whose penetration had already started in Sindh, and Rāshtrakūṭas, Pallavas, etc. had not as yet emerged as a political force, Lalitāditya marched forth in his glittering Chinese armour at the head of a huge army mostly of cuirassiers, trained in the latest techniques of Central Asian and Chinese warfare, sweeping every thing before him. He marched several times into Central Asia to measure swords with the Arabs and the Tibetans. So long as he commanded the obligation and resources of his vassals, he succeeded in giving to Kashmir a glorious era of art, sculpture, and literature.

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1. Kalhaṇa, *Rājataranginī*, iv. 126ff.
2. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. p. 385, Abul Fazl says:
'He died in the mountains of the north, and it is said that he was turned into stone by the curse of an ascetic'.
3. *Raj.* iii. 486
4. *Ibid* 489, 490
5. *Ibid* 488, 489
6. *Ibid.* 528
7. *Ibid.* 490;
8. *Raj.* iii. 497
9. *Ibid.* iv. 8
10. The arrival of embassies from King *Tchen-to-to-lo-pi-li* (Candrāpiḍa), *Mu-to-pi* (Lalitāditya) and *I-cha-fon-mo* (Yasovarman of Kanauj) is referred to in the Annals of the Tang dynasty.
(see *Raj.* iv. 134 n)

11. Both Candrāpīḍa and Lalitāditya had extended their kingdom to the farthest point in the Karakoram range. They controlled the overland caravan routes from India to China.
12. *Raj* iv. 126 n; Alberūni, *India*, ii. p. 178.
13. *Raj*. iv. 132
14. *Ibid*. 150 ff.
15. *Ibid*. 163 ff.
16. *Ibid*. 277 ff. The latitude of the Gobi desert 42° indicates that this must have been the land that could be reached in three months from a place unknown to us but very much in Central Asia or near Mongolia.
17. The empire had lost control over the provinces. (R. Grousset, *China*). The Chinese Emperor was busy in quelling a rebellion raised by General Gen Lab Shanf an officer of Turkish descent.
18. Rāiā Lalitāditya is said to have overrun Iran, Turan, Turks, Hindustan, (See *Ain-i-Akbari*; Vol. ii. p. 385)
19. Most probably the five hills associated with the five great officers might have come down from Indo-Scythian times and continued through the various dynasties of the Yue-Ches, little Yue-Ches, white Huns and Turks which ruled successfully in the Kabul valley and Gandhāra.
20. The names of some of the sculptors like Stape, Bhadrappa still exist on several icons. I owe this information to Shri. J. L. Bhan of the Central Asian Museum, Srinagar.
21. *Raj*. iv. 211, 215
22. Ou'-Kong's Itinerary, *Journal Asiatique* 1895, ff., 354 ff.
23. *Raj*. iv. 207
24. *Ibid* 216,
25. *Ibid* 186

26. *Ibid.* 189.
 27. *India and China*
 28. Wieddel, *Buddhism of Tibet*
 29. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*
 30. *Pag. San Jan Zang*, ed. S. C. Das, p. 183.
 31. Raj, iv. 210; See also Tārānath's account of *Sarvajnamitra* and his teacher Ravi or Sūryagupta.
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17. The empire had lost control over the provinces (R. Grousset, China). The Chinese Emperor was busy in quelling a rebellion raised by General Gen Lab Shan an officer of Turkish descent.
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KASHMIR-THE CRADLE OF BUDDHISM

Moti Lal Saqi

The part played by Kashmiri scholars in the development and promotion of Buddhism, particularly the Mahāyāna is one of the brightest chapters of our history. Unfortunately less attention has been paid to this aspect because Buddhist literature produced in Kashmir is lost in its original form. But there is still a bright spot in this darkness. Some literature of Buddhist origin is preserved in the form of translations in the various parts of the Buddhist world, particularly in Tibet and China.

Kashmiri savants and pandits of Buddhist lore, who carried the refreshing message of Lord Buddha in the various parts of the Asia, are no more known to their progeny in their land of birth but they are known to those who love and cherish the doctrine of Buddhism in east and west. European scholars have done a lot in this direction but there is yet a lot to be done and various fields are still to be explored. Most of the Buddhist literature lying hidden in the Buddhist monasteries of Tibet is still out of our reach because of the barriers of language.

Sanskrit scholars and chroniclers of Kashmir have not been fair enough to Buddhist scholars of their land who were the torch bearers of Buddha's doctrine of love for fraternity and peace and added to the name and fame of Kashmir for centuries together. They will be always remembered by the people who adore Buddha and Buddhism.

Kashmir came within the fold of Buddhism long before the beginning of Christian era. It was during the time of Ajātaśatru that Madhyāntika came to Kashmir along with thousands of

Bhiksus and settled for good in Kashmir. He converted hosts of people, belonging to various tribes and races in Kashmir and its adjoining areas to Buddhism. These tribes and races include, Nāgas, Yaksas, Gāndhāras and Kambhalakas and if the *Mahāvamsa* is to be believed, and there is no reason to reject it, it was first a Yakṣa who along with his wife and children embraced Buddhism in Kashmir which is supported by the Gilgit manuscripts as well

The *Mahāvamsa* says that Madyāntika was a contemporary of King Ashoka but Tibetan sources record that Upagupta contemporary of Ashoka was a disciple of Madhyāntika, who in turn was the disciple of Ārya Shanvashka. According to the Tibetan sources Buddhism reached Kashmir before Ashoka's time. Not only this, *Asokavadāna*, a treatise of 2nd Century B. C. records that Lord Buddha along with Ānanda himself paid a visit to Kashmir and prophesied that it will be at the hands of Madhyāntika that Kashmir will come in the fold of Buddhism. After *Asokavadāna*, the *Divyavadāna* too has recorded this event with a slight variation. It is recorded in the *Asokavadāna* that Buddha came to Kashmir from Mathura while the *Divyavadāna* records that the Lord visited Kashmir after he paid a visit to upper regions of the Sindhu. Both the books record that Buddha paid a visit to Kashmir which indicates that the tradition has a solid and sound base to stand the test of reasoning.

Ashoka's sway over Kashmir has been a matter of disagreement for some time now, but historical evidence provides enough support to draw the conclusion that Kashmir formed a part of Mauryan kingdom of Ashoka. Besides Hieun Tsiang, Ashoka's sway over Kashmir is supported by *Blue Annals* and *Tārā Nath's History of Buddhism*. There are references in *Asokavadāna* and *Divyavadāna* that Ashoka made an attempt towards the end of his life to reconcile the monks of the different schools of Buddhist thought by

convening a council to which he particularly invited the monks living at Tāmasavana in Kashmir. Hieun Tsiang records that during Ashoka's reign there was in Magadha a distinguished monk who was an able investigator of name and reality and who put his extra-ordinary thoughts in a treatise which taught heresy. An attempt was made to drown into the Ganges these monks who, however, saved themselves by flying through the air to Kashmir where they settled on the hills and in the valleys. On hearing this Ashoka felt remorse and requested them to return and on their refusal built for them 500 monastries and gave up all Kashmir for the benefit of the Buddhist church.

Tārā Nath also speaks of his (Ashoka) lavish gifts to the Sarvāstivāda monks of Aparāntaka, Kashmir and Tukhāra.

While discussing the empire of Ashoka we should not forget that he was the king of Jamhudvīpa. Hieun Tsiang's *Life* reveals that the then Jembudvīpa was much greater than the India we imagine today. He includes the countries on the upper Oxus as well as Pamirs in Jambudvīpa, just as the Purānas include them in Bhāratvarṣa. When Ashoka mentioned Jambudvīpa he probably referred to India i. e. the India upto the Oxus. Keeping in view the extent of area ruled by Ashoka there is hardly any substance in the claim that Kashmir was not included in the territory of Ashoka. In the absence of any believable and solid evidence it is a futile exercise to exclude Kashmir from the Mauryan empire of Ashoka's time. What Hieun Tsng, *Blue Annals* and Tārā Nath record in their respective books, and what to some extent is supported by the national chronicle of Shri Lanka the *Mahāvamsa*, is again corroborated by Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataranginī*. We have hardly any reason to reject the evidence of all these books of yore. Greek historians of past have recorded that the Kashmiri's were great pedestrians which in other words means that our fore-fathers were adventurers and explorers. This claim is borne out by the fact that during the reign of Duttagamini (101-77 B. C.) when

the great stūpa of Anurādhā-puram in Shri Lanka was consecrated "from the Kashmira country came the *thera* Uliṇa bringing with him two hundred and eighty thousand bhikkhus". In the later times Kashmiri Buddhist monks traversed great deserts of Central Asia and reached as far as Korea and other parts of China.

It was during the Kushan period, in fact in the days of great Kaniṣka, that Kashmir became the *prayāga* of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is during his reign in the 1st. century A. D. that third Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir. In case the council organised by Ashoka at *Patliputra* (Polibotra of Greeks) is taken into consideration, then the council held in Kashmir is fourth in the line. That Kaniṣka's council was held in Kashmir has a lot of evidence in its support. The first indirect reference to the council is made in Vasubandhu's *Biography* which was translated into Chinese in 6th Century A. D. In this book Kashmir is referred to as Ki-Pin. Some scholars dispute to identify Ki-Pin with Kashmir. Geographically Ki-pin may denote any area or country but so far as the Buddhist literature is concerned, wherever Ki-Pin is referred to it denotes Kashmir. The Chinese translators of Buddhist texts which are dated in 3rd or 4th century A. D. used the term Ki-Pin for Sanskrit Kāśmīra. Ki-Pin, however, included Kapisa, Nagara and Gāndhāra in addition to Kashmir. In the Chinese version of *Milinda Panha* (317-420 A. D.) Ki-Pin is for Kashmir. Chinese Savant Paśādika (488 A. D.) records that Ki-Pin means nothing other than Kashmir and finally R. C. Majumdar in his book the '*History and Culture of Indian people-Classical age*' has this to say "About the Chinese term Ki-Pin. the Chinese Buddhists applied the name Ki-Pin to Kashmir from 2nd to 7th Century A. D."

The internal evidence of Vasubandhu's *Biography* proves beyond any doubt that Ki-Pin is no land other than Kashmir. The description of the country in which the monks composed. Abhidharma corresponds to Kashmir even to-day because the physical geography

of the land has not undergone any change since then. Hieun Tsiang declares categorically that the conference was held in Kashmir and Yaksas were directed to guard the treasure of *sūtras* engraved on copper plates, a fact which is recorded in Vasubhandu's *Biography* also. Tārā Nath records that the conference was held at Kundalvana either in Kashmir or at Jālandhara. As regards the then Jālandhara it was the area of lower reaches of Kangra valley as recorded in the *Blue Annals*. The *Blue Annals* have a precedence of almost three hundred years over Tārā Nath. The author of the *Blue Annals* (Debsnon), Gos-lo ('*lśa-pa gzon-ne dpal*) writes on the basis of an old Indian manuscript:

'King Ashoka having died, Sudarshana was reborn in Kashmir. His parents gave him the name of Simha. Having taken up ordination in the religious order of the blessed one he attained the stage of Arhat-ship. About that time, a king from the country of Uttarāpatha named Kaniṣka visited Kashmir in order to meet Simha. Ārya Simha preached to him the Doctrine. After hearing the Doctrine the king returned to Uttarāpatha (Buan-gi-lam). The King then consecrated Kaniṣka-Caitya and gave away alms to benefit the doctrine of the blessed one, as well as performed meritorious acts in the interest of the doctrine. He (Simha) preached the doctrine to monks. At the *viḥāra* of Karnikavana in Kashmira five hundred Arhats headed by Ārya Pārśva, four hundred venerables headed by Vasumitra and five hundred Bodhisattvas recited the Abhidharma..... (the king) offered these to the community of Monks in Kashmira. Proceeding ahead the author writes "the above passage was discovered by me in a single leaf of an Indian manuscript which contained the hierarchy of the doctrine. The beginning and the end (of this story) were missing".

From the time of the Council down to the first half of the 15th Century when the last monastery came up, Kashmir was bestowed upon with the title of abode of Mahāyāna. In this way Sylvan Levy was right to conclude that the Mūlasarvāstivāda has

its positive links with Kashmir and its neighbouring regions. It had chosen Sanskrit as its sacred language, the choice appears to attest well to the privileged position of Sanskrit as the literary language of Kashmir about the time when the redaction of Vinaya school took place. It is because of this privileged position of Kashmir that the largest redaction of Vibhāṣhā spread over two hundred parts belongs to Kashmir. Kumārajīva, the first monk to introduce Mahāyāna in China was educated in these *Śāstras* in Kashmir.

From 7th Century onwards Kashmiri monks designated by Tibetans as *Kha-Che Pan Chems* played the key role in propagating Buddhism in Tibet and Ladakh. *Kālacakryāna* precept of Lamaism was introduced by a Kashmiri monk Som Nath in Tibet. Rin-Chen Bzang-po the great translator of western Tibet was educated for 13 years in Kashmir in the 11th century which is sufficient to prove that Kashmir as a seat of Buddhist learning had not lost its extra-ordinary position during Hindu rule. It was the result of noble Buddhist monks of Mahāyāna that Kashmir in later times was given the name '*Śārādā Pīṭha*' or the seat of learning.

It was Rin-Chen-Bzang-po who besides a lot of Buddhist scriptures took some artists from Kashmir to western Tibet and thus paved the way for the preservation of Kashmiri specimen of painting in various gumpas of western Tibet, a tradition which has no traces left in the land of its birth Tārā Nath has alluded to a separate school of Kashmiri painting and Rai Krishna has written that the Kashmiri School of painting was at the back of Maghal paintings. Dr. Tucci has done some work in this sphere but more details are awaited. Tibetan monks came to Kashmir to prepare the script for their language and succeeded in it. The present day Bodhi script is based on the then prevalent script of Kashmiri which was more akin to Gupta *lipi* than *Śārādā*, a script which in historical times was current in the entire north western region from Delhi to Kabul.

Though Buddisim is not a living religion in today's Kashmir, the influence of Buddhist thinking and way of life is very much preserved in our day to day dealings. The Muslim Rishi order of Kashmir had enormous influence of Buddhist thinking which bears testimony to the fact that the Buddhist influence though waning was a force in the 15th century also. Kashmiri Rishis were more close to the *Bhiksus* than Sanyāsins or Sufis.

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15. Jean. Naudou. *Buddhists of Kahmir*.
16. Sunil Khosa. *Ari of Kashmir and Ladakh*.
17. J. Przyluski. *Legend of Emperor Ashoka*.

was a force in the 15th century also. Kashmiri Rishis were testimony to the fact that the Buddhist influence though waned of Kashmir had enormous influence of Buddhist thinking which is preserved in our day to day dealings. The Muslim Rishi admit the influence of Buddhist thinking and way of life is very acute. Although Buddhism is not a living religion in today's India it is a strong factor in our thinking.

17. J. Przyluski. Legend of Emperor Ashoka.
16. Shunli Khosh. Art of Kashmir and Kashmiri.
15. Jean. Nandor. Buddhists of Kashmir.
14. K. P. Jayaswal. Peoples and People in Ashoka's Inscriptions.
13. Dr. Moti Chander. Trade & Trade routes of India.
12. Tara Nath. History of Buddhism in India.
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SARVĀSTIVĀDA SCHOOL OF KASHMIR BUDDHISM & ITS CONTRIBUTION TO BUDDHIST THOUGHT

Advaitvadini, Kaul

Buddha did not leave behind any documentation regarding his order. He only said that his speeches on the *Dharma* (order) and the *Vinaya* (discipline) would be the supreme authority after him. So it was left to monks or the disciples of the master to collect his teachings and put them together in the form of Buddhist Canons. In the course of time, changes in perceptions gave rise to differences of opinion amongst the compilers of the Canon. These differences of opinion after gaining ground over time gave rise to different sects of the Buddhist order. Although difference of opinion arose even during life-time of the Buddha but historically it was a century after the Buddha attained *Parinirvāna* that the first schism arose in the order¹. It was during the time of the second council at Vaisālī that efforts were made by some monks to relax the strict rules laid down by orthodox monks. However, the overall decision of the council was in favour of the orthodox monks who came to be known as the *Therās* or *Sthaviras*². Those monks who did not subscribe to the orthodox views subsequently convened another council in which about ten thousand monks participated³. These later monks came to be known as the *Mahāsāṅghikas*. In course of time these two primitive sects, i.e., *Sthaviravādins* and the *Mahāsāṅghikas* split out into several sub-sects.

It was within five centuries after the Buddha's demise that there developed eighteen schools, eleven out of the *Theravāda* and seven from the *Mahāsāṅghikas*. There continued to spring numberless sub-sects later on⁴.

As far as Kashmir is concerned Buddhism was formally introduced here by Majjhāntika, who belonged to the *Sarvāstivāda*

school⁵. This school was an off shoot of the *Therāvāda* school. The *Sarvāstivāda* gained proficiency in Kashmir and it was *Abhidharmapitaka* of this school that attracted a large number of scholars from distant places to gain knowledge. In the following account attempt has been made to discuss the historical background, geographical expansion, works and also philosophy of the *Sarvāstivāda* school.

Historical Background

The main theme, i. e, *sarvam asti* or *sabbam atthi* of the *Sarvāstivāda* school, meaning that "all things exist". has its origin in the *Samyuttanikāya*⁶. Hence, the idea of this thought goes back to the life-time of Buddha. It is one of the earliest schools of Buddhist thought that branched off from the orthodox or the *Therāvāda* school⁷. Vasumitra, Bhavya, Vinītadeva and I-tsing dated this school to the 3rd century after the Buddha attained *mahāparinirvāna*⁸. According to the Ceylonese Chronicle *Dīpavamsa* (V, 47), the *Mahisāsaka* first branched off from the *Therāvāda* and the *Sarvāstivāda* later issued out of the *Mahisāsaka* of the orthodox school⁹.

The history of this school begins from the time of king *Asoka* (240 B. C.): *Asoka*, in order to stop the addition of new sects within the *Theravāda* school, convened a Council under the leadership of *Moggaliputta Tissa*—a *Theravādin*, *Moggaliputta Tissa* in his *Kathāvatthu*, questioned some of the basic tenets of the *Sarvāstivādins*¹⁰. Monks who supported the views of the *Theravāda* were known as the *theras* or the orthodox and the rest as unorthodox¹¹. The latter left Magadha and went to Kashmir-Gandhāra where they established themselves as *Sarvāstivādins*¹². Yuan Chwang records that during *Asoka*'s reign there was in Magadha a subtle investigator of *nāma-rūpa* (*sarvāstivādin*) who put his extraordinary

thoughts in a treatise which taught heresy. The pilgrim further says that an attempt was made to drown into the Ganges the *Sarvāstivādin* monks. But these monks somehow saved themselves and settled on the hills and in the valley of Kashmir. On learning this *Asoka* became regretful and requested these monks to return but in vain. The king then built five hundred monasteries for these monks and gave up all Kashmir for the benefit of the *Saṅgha*¹³. As such *Asoka* became a patron of the *Sarvāstivādin* monks. *Tārānātha*, the Tibetan historian, also records his (*Asoka*'s) lavish gifts to the *Sarvāstivādin* monks of *Aparāntaka*, Kashmir and *Tukhāra*¹⁴.

The Kushān king *Kaṇiṣka* was also a great patron of the *Sarvāstivādins*. In the fourth Buddhist Council convened by him, the majority of the participant monks were *Sarvāstivādins*. The main object of the Council was to prepare commentaries on the *Canons*¹⁵. These commentaries called *Vibhāṣas*, bear witness to the literary and religious activities of the *Sarvāstivāda* school. It was with their reliance on the *Vibhāṣas* that the *Sarvāstivādins* were later known as the *Vaibhāṣikas*¹⁶. The language of the *Vibhāṣas* was Sanskrit. The manuscripts discovered in Eastern Turkistan and Gilgit corroborate this fact¹⁷. According to the Tibetan historian *Bu-Ston*, the founder of this school was *Rāhulabhadra* who belonged to the *Kṣatriya* caste. The members of this school wore the mantle having twenty-five to twenty-nine fringes. Their badge was an *utpala* (a lotus), a jewel and a leaf of a tree¹⁸. According to a tradition, the *Sarvāstivāda* school was divided into seven sects, viz, *Mūlasarvāstivāda*, *Kāśyapīya*, *Mahisāsaka*, *Dharmagupta*, *Bahusrutīya*, *Tamrasattya* and *Vibhājjavāda*¹⁹. The *Mūlasarvāstivāda* had its links with Kashmir and the neighbouring regions¹⁹.

Geographical Expansion

As already noted that the *Sarvāstivādins* not finding a congenial place in Magadha migrated to the north. It appears that this school developed first at Mathura and afterwards in Kashmir-Gandhāra. The *Sarvāstivāda* of Kashmir-Gandhāra later assumed the name *Mūla-sarvāstivāda* to emphasise its fundamental bearing on subsequent schools of the thought²¹. Thus the two centres of the *Sarvāstivādins* were founded in Mathura and Kashmir-Gandhāra by Upagupta and Madhyāntika respectively²². Madhyāntika was the direct disciple of Ānanda while Upgupta was the disciple of Sanavāsika. The latter was also a disciple of Ānanda²³.

Through the activities of the *Sarvāstivādins* Kashmir became the centre of Buddhist philosophical studies in northern India. Subsequently this school became most widely recognised school in India. Also it was this school through which the *Hīnayāna* doctrines were propagated in Central Asia and further in China. A few inscriptions dating from the 2nd to the 4th Century A. D. attest to the presence of this school in Mathura, Peshawar, Kashmir and Baluchistan²⁴.

The travel accounts of Chinese pilgrims also testify to the wider popularity of this school. Fa-hien (319-414 A. D.) noticed the existence of this school in Patliputra and China²⁵. Yuan-Chwang (629-645 A. D.) found the followers of this school mainly in Kashgar, Udyana and several other places in the northern frontier Matipura, Kanauj and a place near Rājagṛha as well as in Persia²⁶. I-tsing (671-675 A. D.) also testifies to the wide popularity of this school. He found *Sarvāstivādins* in Lata, Sindhu, Southern and Eastern India, Sumatra, Java, China, Central Asia and China²⁷. In this manner, the geographical extent of the *Sarvāstivāda* school was much broader than any other school of Buddhist thought.

Works of the School

Just as the *Theravādins* had in Pāli, the *Sarvāstivādin* school possessed a canon in Sanskrit in three divisions, viz., *vinayapitaka*, *sūtrapitaka* and *abhidharmapitaka*. Barring some manuscript fragments found in Central Asia, Gilgit and Nepal nowhere is available a complete copy of the Sanskrit canon. Also, there are evidences of this canon being preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations. Again, quotations from this canon are found in the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, *Divyāvādāna*, *Abhidharmakośa* and *Mādhyamikavṛtti*.

Vinayapitaka :

Some of the texts in Chinese translations belonging to the *Sarvāstivāda* and *Mūlasarvāstivāda* *Vinaya* schools include the following :-

a) *Sarvāstivādavīnaya* :

- i) *Daśādhyāya-vīnaya*,
- ii) *Vinayānīdāna* (preface to the *Daśādhyāya-vīnaya*)
- iii) *Vīnaya-vibhāṣā*
- iv) *Bhikṣu-prātimokṣa-sūtra*, and
- v) *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa-sūtra*.

b) *Mūlasarvāstivādavīnaya* :

- i) *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*;
- ii) Another text (name not mentioned);
- iii) *Vīnayasamyukti-vastu*,
- iv) *Vīnaya-saṃgraha*.

- v) *Vinaya-samghabhedaka-vastu*.
- vi) *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa sūtra*.
- vii) *Ekasaṭākarma*.
- viii) *Nidāna*.
- ix) *Mātrkā*,
- x) *Pravṛjyā-upasampadā-karmavākya*,
- xi) *Vinaya-nidāna-mātrkā-gāthā*,
- xii) *Vinaya-saṃyukta-vastu-gāthā*, and
- xiii) *Vinaya-gāthā*²⁹.

There are found divisions of *Sarvāstivāda* and *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* in Chinese. These divisions are :

- i) *Vinaya-vibhanga*
- ii) *Vinaya-Vastu*,
- iii) *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*, and
- iv) *Vinaya-uttaragrantha*³⁰. This four-fold division is almost similar to that of the *Therāvādins*. In Tibetan translations of *Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya* the division is slightly different. The *Vinaya-vastu* is placed first here and then *Vinaya-vibhanga*. The Chinese *Daśādhyāya-vinaya* the principal work of the *Sarvāstivāda* school and the Tibetan *Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya* have close affinity with each other. Fa-hien³⁰ makes mention of *Sarvāstivāda vinaya* in verse but the Chinese *Daśādhyāya-vinaya* is in prose. It is not clear if the prose translation has been made from the text in verse or some other text in prose. Again, I-tsing³¹ mentions that the *vinaya* of the *Daśādhyāya* does not belong to the *Āryamūlasarvāstivāda* school

The fragments of the *Prātimokśasūtra* and the *Bhiksuni prātimokśasūtra* have been discovered in Eastern Turkestan and in Nepal³². In Gilgit a number of manuscript fragments of this school have been discovered. These fragments consist of:

the *Mūlasarvāstivādaśāstra* *vastu*;

the *prātimokśasūtra* and

the *Karmavacana*³³.

SŪTRAPĪṬAKA :

The five sub-sections of this *Pitaka* are known as *nikāya* in Pāli and *āgama* in Sanskrit. Although the four Sanskrit *āgamas*, viz., *Dirghāgama*, *Madhyamāgama*, *Samyuktāgama*, and *Ekottarāgama*, are very often mentioned, there are only a few references to the fifth *āgama* viz., *Ksudrākāgama*. The Chinese *Dirghāgama* contains thirty. *Sūtras* as against thirty-four of the Pāli *Dirghānikāya*³⁴. The fragments of the *Samgītisūtra* and the *Ātanāṭiyasūtra* of the *Dirghāgama* have been discovered in Eastern Turkestan³⁵. The Chinese *Madhyamāgama*³⁶ contains two-hundred and twenty-two *sūtras* as against hundred and fifty-two of the Pāli text. The fragments of the *Upāli Sūtra* and *Śuka sūtra* of the *Madhyamāgama* have also been discovered in Eastern Turkestan³⁷. The Chinese *Samyuktāgama*³⁸ is divided into fifty chapters while the Pāli text contains five *Samyuttas* or *vaggas*. Again, the finds of Eastern Turkestan have revealed the fragments of these *Pravāraṇasūtra*, *Candropamāsūtra* and *śaktisūtra* of the *samyuktāgama*³⁹. The *Ekottarāgama*⁴⁰ contains fifty-two chapters and the Pāli text has eleven *nipātas* consisting of hundred and sixty-nine chapters. The *sūtras* of *Ekottarāgama* and *Anguttaranikāya* differ probably

because many *sūtras* of the *Ekottarāgama* have been included in the *Madhyamāgama* and *Samyuktāgama*. Also it is for this reason that the *Ekottarāgama* is much shorter than the Pāli *Anguttarnikāya*. In Gilgit finds there are twenty-seven leaves of the *Ekottarāgama* belonging to *Mūlasarvāstivāda* school⁴¹. *Udānavarga*, the Sanskrit version of the *Dhammapada*, has been discovered in course of the excavations in Eastern Turkestan⁴². The Chinese and Tibetan versions of this text belonging to the *Kṣudrakāgama* are based on some versions different from the Pāli. There are three separate Chinese translations of the *Dharmapada*⁴³. There is one Tibetan translation of *Udānavarga* and its commentary, viz, *Udānavarga vivaraṇa*⁴⁴.

Abhidharmapitaka :

This is very significant section of the school. The *Sarvāstivādins* possessed seven *Abhidharma* treatises like the *Theravādins*. The treatises of the *Sarvāstivādins* preserved, mainly in Chinese translations are :

1. *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* : It was composed three hundred year after the *maḥāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha by the venerable Katyāyana-putra. This great *Sarvāstivādin* scholar flourished in Kashmir and was a contemporary of king *Kaṁiśka*⁴⁵. There are two Chinese translations of this work one by the monk Gautama Saṅghadeva⁴⁷ of Kashmir and the other Ku-Fo-nien made in 383 A.D. The title of the work being the *Abhidharmāstāgrantha* also known as *Astāgrantha*⁴³. It contains thirty fasciculi. Another translation is by Yuan-Chwang made in 657-660 A. D. entitled the *Abhidharmasāstra* also called *Jñānaprasthāna*⁴⁹. It consists of twenty fasciculi. Both the versions

contain eight sections covering forty-four chapters. Only the title of a few chapters differ. *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* is the most important work of the school. This treatise has been compared to the body of a being and the other six treatises as its *pādas* or legs⁵⁰. As such the *Jñānaprasthāna* is the principle work of the *Sarvāstivādin* school and the other six are supplements to it. This, is unlike the seven *Theravādin* treatises each one of which is an independent work.

2. *Sāṅgītiparyāya*⁵¹: Being the first of the six *Pādas* or supplements to the *Jñānaprasthānasūtra* it was composed by the venerable Śāriputra according to the Chinese sources. Yaśomitra and Bu-ston name the author as Mahākausthila. Yuan-chwang translated it into Chinese. The work containing twelve chapters was an attempt to summarise the teachings of the Buddha in order to avoid the chances of differences arising among the disciples. A small fragment of the *Sāṅgītiparyāya* has been discovered from the caves of Bamiyan (Afghanistan)⁵².

3. *Prakaranapāda*; The second of the six *Pāda* works has been ascribed to the great *Sarvāstivādin* teacher Vasumitra. Yuan-chwang mentions that this treatise was composed by Vasumitra in a monastery at Puskarāvati⁵³. There are two Chinese translations of this work. First is by Guṇabhadra and Bodhiyaśas made in 435-443 A. D. and the other by Yuan-chwang⁵⁴ in 659 A. D. The work contains eight chapters.

4. *Vijñānakāya*: The third of the six supplementary works of the *Sarvāstivādins*, *Vijñānakāya*⁵⁵ was composed one hundred years

after the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha by *Arhat* Devasārmā in Visoka near Srāvasti. The treatise containing six chapters was translated into Chinese by Yuan-Chwang in 649 A. D. According to Yuan-chwang the *Vaibhāsikas* while considering the importance of the treatise accepted it as canonical and the *Sautrāntikas* rejected it⁵⁶.

5. *Dhātukāya*⁵⁷ : It is the fourth of the six *Pāda* works. It was composed three hundred years after the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha by the venerable Vasumitra, according to Chinese authorities. Yasomitra and Bu-ston ascribe it to Pūrṇa. Yuan-Chwang made its Chinese translation in 663 A. D. It contains two chapters.

6. *Dharmaskandha* : This treatise the fifth of the six supplements of the *Jñānaprasthāna* was composed, according to the Chinese sources by the great Maudgalyāyana. But Yasomitra and Bu-ston attribute it to Ārya Śāriputra. The treatise translated by Yuan-Chwang⁵⁸ in 650 A. D. contains twenty-one chapters. The nineteen leaves of the *Dharmaskandha* have been discovered at Gilgit⁵⁹.

7. *Prajñaptisāstha*⁶⁰ : It is the last of the seven *pāda* works composed by Mahāmaudgalyāyana and translated into Chinese by Fā-hu (Dharmaraksha?) and others in 1004-1058 A. D. The Tibetan translation of the work contains three parts, viz., *Lokaprajñāpti*, *Karnaprajñāpti* and *Karmaprajñāpti*. The *Lokaprajñāpti* is missing in the Chinese translation. The six leaves of the *Lokaprajñāpti* have been discovered among Gilgit manuscripts⁶¹.

Besides the above noted seven *Abhidharma* treatises there are also other important philosophical treatises belonging to the

Sarvāstivāda school. Those works are known through their Chinese and Tibetan translations. Only one treatise is extant in original Sanskrit i.e., *Sphuṭayābhīdharmakośavyākhyā* of Yasomitra. The important philosophical works of the school are as under :-

1. *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*⁶² : It is a huge commentary on the *Jñānaprasthānaśāstra*, of Ārya Katyāyana-putra. It was compiled four hundred years after the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha by five hundred *arhats* headed by the venerable Vasumitra⁶³. The text containing eight divisions and forty three chapters was translated into Chinese by Ynan-Chwang in 656-659 A. D.
2. *Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra*⁶⁴ : This is another commentary on the *Jñānaprasthānaśāstra*, attributed to Katyāyana-putra himself. The Chinese text is incomplete. It was translated by Buddhavarman and Tāo-thai in 437-439 A.D. The text contains three divisions and six chapters.
3. *Abhidharmakośa*⁶⁵ : It is a digest of the seven *abhidharma* treatises and deals with almost all the philosophical topics contained in them. It was composed by Vasubandhu who also refutes the views of the *Vaiśhāṣikas* in this work. The work has two Chinese versions consisting of nine chapters. One Chinese version is made by Paramārtha in 564-567 A. D., another by Yuan-Chwang in 651-654 A. D. The latter agrees with the Tibetan version⁶⁶ of the work. In Chinese the work is in two forms, one in verse and the other in prose—an explanation of the former.
4. *Abhidharmakośakārikā*⁶⁷ : The authorship of this work is attributed to Vasubandhu by Chinese and Tibetan writers. Yuan-Chwang translated it into Chinese in 651 A. D. It was translated into Tibetan⁶⁸ by Jinamitra and Dpal-brtsesgraksita.

Principles of the School

In the following discussion effort would be made to depict briefly the principles of the *Abhidharma* (Philosophy) of the *Sarvāstivāda* school on the authority of *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu. According to Vasubandhu "*Abhidharma*" is an analytical study of the nature of all *dharma*s (elements) the different means of attaining *prajñā* (real knowledge)⁶⁹. The *Sarvāstivādins* maintain "*Sarvam asti*" i. e, all exist's by which may be understood a doctrine that maintains realism, the realism of *dharma*s (elements) in the three phases of time—present, past and future. These *dharma*s are temporal (*addva*), matter of convention (*kathāvastu*) in the name (*nāma*) and form (*rūpa*), without substance (*sanisāra*) and of dependent origination (*savastuka*)⁷⁰. By the combination of these *dharma*s into various forms of matter (*rūpa*) and mind (*citta*) the whole world (*loka*) and the objects (*vastus*) are built up⁷¹.

The different interpretations of the existence of (*dharma*s) according to *Sarvāstivāda* theory is given by Dharmatrāta, Ghosaka, Vasumitra and Buddhadeva respectively as under⁷².

- a) *Bhāvānyathātvavāda* i. e, the change of nature not of *Dharma*.
- b) *Lakṣaṇānyathātvavāda* i. e, change of character not of *Dharma*.
- c) *Avasthānyathātvavāda* i. e, change of mode not of *Dharma*.
- d) *Anvathānyathiktvavāde* i. e, relative changes.

These *Dharma*s do not signify any permanent substance (*nityadravya*). These *dharma*s the basis of all concrete phenomena are real only hypothetically. For the objects which existed in the past are now the object of mind's consciousness (*manodhatu*). In

the same way the future objects remain unmanifest in the present consciousness. As such the theory of the *Sarvāstivāda* school cannot be interpreted as realism *par excellence*.

Classification of Dharmas :

According to *Sarvāstivādins*, there are seventy-five *dharma* (elements) in all. They are grouped into two categories viz., *sāsrava* (impure) and *anāsrava* (pure)⁷³. There are seventy-two *sāsrava* (impure) *dharmas*. They are *samskrta* (conditioned) *dharmas*. These seventy-two *dharmas* are classified in four categories as under⁷⁴.

1. *Rupa* (material compounds) they are eleven in number :
 - a) *Visaya* (objects)
 - i. *Rūpa* (visible object)
 - ii. *Śabda* (audible object)
 - iii. *Gandha* (odorous object)
 - iv. *Rasa* (sapid object).
 - v. *Sparsa* (tangible object).
 - b) *Indriya* (sense organs)
 - i) *Caksurindriya* (eye)
 - ii) *Srotrendriya* (Ear)
 - iii) *Ghrānedriya* (nose)
 - iv) *Jihvendriya* (tongue)
 - v) *Kayendriya* (body)
 - c) *Avijñāpti* (ideational object)
2. *Citta* (consciousness)
3. *Cittasamprayuktadharmas* (mind derivatives). They are forty-six in all, divided as under :
 - a) *Mahābhūmika* (universal psychic factors)
 - i) *Vedāna* (feeling)
 - ii) *Sanjñā* (preception)
 - iii) *Cetanā* (volition)

- iv. *Spāśa* (contact)
 - v. *Chanda* (desire)
 - vi. *Mati* or *prajñā* (intellect)
 - vii. *Smṛti* (memory)
 - viii. *Manaskāra* (attention)
 - ix. *Adhimokṣa* (firm determination)
 - x. *Samādhi* (one pointedness).
- b) *Kusalamahābhūmika* (moral psychic factors)
- i. *Sraddhā* (faith)
 - ii. *Vīrya* (enthusiasm)
 - iii. *Upekṣa* (indifferencet)
 - iv. *Hṛī* (feeling shame for one's self)
 - v. *Apatrāpya* (feeling shame for another)
 - vi. *Alobha* (Sacrifice)
 - vii. *Adveṣa* (absence of hatred)
 - viii. *Ahimsā* (harmlessness)
 - ix. *Prasābhi* (adroitness)
 - x. *Apramāda* (carefulness)
- c) *Kleśamahābhūmika* (bad psychic factors)
- i. *Moha* (ignorance)
 - ii. *Pramāda* (carelessness)
 - iii. *Kausidya* (repentance)
 - iv. *Asrāddhya* (faithlessness)
 - v. *Styana* (idleness)
 - vi. *Auddhāīya* (bewilderness of consciousness).
- d) *Akusalamahābhūmika* (immoral psychic factors)
- i. *Krodha* (anger)
 - ii. *Mṛakṣa* (hypocrisy)
 - iii. *Mātsarya* (envy)

- iv. *Īrṣyā* (feeling jealous)
 - v. *Pradāsa* (wounding by harsh words)
 - vi. *Vihimsā* (injury)
 - vii. *Upanāha* (continuity of feeling enmity)
 - viii. *Māyā* (cheating others by false activities)
 - ix. *Śāthya* (trickiness)
 - x. *Mada* (arrogance).
- c) *Aniyatabhūmika* (indefinite psychic factors)
- i. *Kaukrtya* (repentance)
 - ii. *Middha* (absent mindedness)
 - iii. *Vitarka* (discussion)
 - iv. *Vicāra* (judgement)
 - v. *Rāga* (attachment)
 - vi. *Pratigha* (animosity)
 - vii. *Māna* (conceit)
 - viii. *Vicikitsa* (wrong interpretation).
4. *Cittaviprayiktadharmas* (mind-dissociates). They are fourteen in number as follows :
- i) *Prāpti* (acquisition)
 - ii) *Aprāpti* (non-acquisition)
 - iii. *Sabhāgatā* (common characteristics)
 - iv. *Sanjñikā* (absence of perception)
 - v. *Asanjanisamāpatti* (state of meditation producing cessation of perception).
 - vi. *Nirodhasamāpatti* (state of meditation producing cessation of mental activity)
 - vii. *Jīvita* (life)
 - viii. *Jāti* (origination)

- ix. *Sthiti* (continuance)
- x. *Jarā* (decay)
- xi. *Aniyata* (impermanence)
- xii. *Nāmakāya* (words)
- xiii. *Padakāya* (sentence)
- xiv. *Vyañjanākāya* (letters whether they compose a word or not).

There are three pure *dharma*s which are *asamskrta* (unconditioned) They are⁷⁵:

- i. *Ākāśa* (ether or infinite space)
- ii. *Pratisāṅkhyanirodha* (cessation of impurities by knowledge)
- iii. *Apratisāṅkhyaninodha* (cessation of impurities by means of *sādhana*)

All the seventy-two *samskrta* (conditioned) *dharma*s are the constituted forms of the five *skandhas* (constituents). The five *skandhas* are⁷⁶:

- i. *Rupa* (matter)
- ii. *Vedanā* (feeling)
- iii. *Samjñā* (preception)
- iv. *Vijñāna* (consciousness)
- v. *Samskāra* (impression).

The *skandhas* (constituents) are pure by nature. They become impure when they form a *pudgala* (constituted being). They are qualified as *upādāna skandha* which are always impure and are the sources of *sarāna* (conflict). They become the causes of suffering and subject to suffering⁷⁷.

Sarvastivādins finally put emphasis on *nirvāṇa* (emancipation). According to them the emphasis on *nirvāṇa* categorically determines the evanescent and phenomenal character of all knowledge and all existence⁷⁸.

Besides *Sarvastivāda* other schools of Buddhist thought also found a place in Kashmir. Harivarman was a *Sarvastivadin* teacher of Kashmir who composed in the year 253 A. D. the *Satyasiddhi-sāstra*. It is also known as *Tattvasiddhiśāstra* and the purpose of this work was to reconcile the different Buddhist sects that had arisen till his time. The work is believed to have become a part of the famous *tripitaka* and thus having played a significant role in including the Buddhist thought of the day in the *tripitaka*. This work was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva who also introduced the *Satyasiddhi* school based on this work in China. The work was held in high esteem in China⁷⁹.

According to Yuan-Chwang, a work entitled *Tattvasaṃgraha* (*Chi-Chen-Lum*) written by the Kashmiri scholar Bodhila, expounded the philosophy of the *Mahāsāṅghika* school. Again, Yuan-Chwang says that Bodhila composed the work in a *Mahāsāṅghika* monastery of Kashmir⁸⁰.

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MODES OF TECHNOLOGY AND CULTURE TRANSMISSION FROM CENTRAL ASIA TO KASHMIR (A. D. 1339-1586)

Muhammad Ashraf Wani

It has now been profusely borne out that the historical and cultural contacts between Kashmir and Central Asia extend to remote antiquity, at least not later than the neolithic period. However, with the establishment of the Sultanate in Kashmir in 1339, a stage was set for a revival of these ties to a degree surpassing all that had occurred before. Consequent upon these intimate relations Central Asian culture penetrated so deep into the culture of Kashmir that a new culture predominated by Central Asian elements came into existence. One may not hesitate in arguing that during the period of the Sultans, Kashmir's technology and culture were remodelled after Central Asian technology and culture. In recent times some pioneering efforts have been made to argue for striking influences of Central Asian technology and culture on Kashmir but as to how this Central Asian technology and culture transmitted to Kashmir, no indepth study has been so far conducted on this subject. In this paper an attempt has been made to discuss various sources, channels and means through which Central Asian technology and culture were transmitted and diffused into the Valley during the period of the Sultans. Needless to say, it is the study of these various channels and the identification of the social stratum which demanded the diffusion of this technology and culture that can help in unveiling the secret of Kashmir's profound change after the Central Asian matrix.

The channels, sources and occasions of contact and diffusion of Central Asian technology and culture were numerous. We may broadly divide them into the following headings :—

- (a) Religious
- (b) Educational
- (c) Economic ; and
- (d) Political.

Let us take first the religious factor—one of the most premier medieval modes and stimulators of technological and cultural exchange. It is a bare fact that every political conquest by the Muslims in medieval times was accompanied or immediately followed by their cultural impact—a handiwork of the zealous Muslim missionaries who had dedicated their lives to the cause of Islam. By 1339, Kashmir was the only kingdom amongst its neighbouring countries to have remained out of the grip of Muslim conquerors which in turn understandably created much difficulty in the way of Muslim missionaries who had especially swept the whole of Persia and Central Asia—one of the main strongholds of the then bubbling Muslim civilization. The height of the zeal of these Muslim missionaries to extend their cultural and ecological frontiers to the beautiful Valley of Kashmir can be ascertained by the fact that some of them, regardless of the political barricades, not only managed to enter that land but also boldly propagated their mission long before its political domination by the Muslims¹. However, the establishment of the Sultanate (C. 1339 A D) opened the flood gates for the migration of these Muslim missionaries in the Valley. No wonder, therefore that one finds a continuous infiltration of the Muslim preachers of Persia and Central Asia right from the very inception of the Sultanate upto its fall². These Muslim missionaries generally poured in the country in groups. And the idea of the size of each of these groups can be had by the fact that Sayyid Ali Hamadani, a leading missionary of the period, was accompanied by his seven hundred disciples³.

These Muslim missionaries, it is to be noted, did not bring only a new religious ideology but they also brought with them their own life style. And more important is that, for the

perpetuation and diffusion of their culture, these missionaries brought with them also the mechanism with the help of which they could satisfy their special tastes and at the same time disseminate them among the local people. The mechanism was the skilful persons and the written material brought from Central Asia. It is erroneously assumed that Saiyid Ali was accompanied by seven hundred Saiyids whose functions merely revolved round the religious axis⁴. The fact is that this group of seven hundred followers comprised the people belonging to different arts and crafts, which could ensure not only a safe and convenient journey from distant lands of Central Asia to Kashmir (that involved long intervals in the passage of a caravan) but also a comfortable stay in the Valley, accustomed as they were to a particular life style. Thus Saiyid Sadaru's Din Khuarsani and Saiyid Ahmad Loristant, who accompanied Saiyid Ali were the great architects who built Jamia Masjid⁵, the like of which, according to a contemporary could not be found in either in Hindustan or in Iran or Turan, but only in Sham and Misar⁶. More important is the class composition of the followers of another contemporary zealous missionary, Mir Shamsu'd Din Iraqi, which is so graphically referred to by the author of *Tuhfatu'l Ahbab*. The author, while referring to different people who accompanied the missionary in his mission of propagating his faith, says:—

چنانچه در ویش سلمان بکار و مہمات آخستہ خانہ تعیین نمودند و تربیت مرآکب
و خجرو و مرمت اسب و استرحالہ او کردند و حضرت شاہ ملائک ... و ذرویش
تاج الدین را بکار مہمات مطبخ و آشخانہ معین ساختند ... و حاجی بایزید لمبا فطت
مشریت خانہ و در کابخانہ امر فرمودند و تمام علوایا و مہمبی و الوان اشربہ و اغذیہ و
انواع ترکیب و ادویہ کہ خاصہ آنحضرت بودند او را امین و نگہبان آن ہمہ ساختند ...
و حاجی علی را بکار و بار جامہ و کتبہ مہمات اجناس و البسہ مخصوص ساختند و جمیل
ملبوسات آنحضرت از اعمام و الثواب اشیاء و اسباب کہ پوشش خاصہ آنحضرت
بود بحوالہ او سپردند۔

Besides bringing the artists and craftsmen, we find the Sufis bringing a huge mass of written material with them. On his mission to Kashmir, Saiyid Ali Hamadani is said to have brought his whole Library with him which was kept under the charge of an expert—Saiyid Kazim⁷. Given the fact that Saiyid Ali was a Sufi, and the Sufi of that *csilsil* which originated and flourished in Iran and Central Asia⁸, the predominance of Sufi literature, with a local colour and flavour, in his library could be a reasonable assumption. One cannot also reasonably rule out the possibility of the Sufis bringing non-religious literature with them, which would prove an additional help to them in propagating their ideas or was of critical importance for their life (like literature on *tib*)

Equally important is the fact that these Muslim missionaries were not merely interested in the theoretical conversion of Kashmiris to Islam but were more zealous in the complete transformation of their whole way of life after the Muslim fashion. The persuasion of Saiyid Ali Hamadani to the reigning Sultan for giving up the Hindu dress in preference to what was in vogue in the Muslim countries is an instance to the point⁹. Yet when these Muslim missionaries of Persia and Central Asia exhorted the Muslims and neo-converts of Kashmir to adopt Muslim way of life, they were actually driving them to adopt Persian and Central Asian culture rather than Islamic culture, as the Islam which these Sufis brought with them was buried deep beneath the Persian and Central Asian influences¹⁰. That is why the present culture of the Muslims of Kashmir presents close resemblance to that of Persia and Central Asia and is very distantly related to Arab culture.

For diffusing the Central Asian culture among the general public ranging from a Sultan to a commoner and from a townsman to a villager, there was no other channel as active and influential as that of the conversion movement of the Muslim missionaries. The Muslim missionaries who had taken the conversion of the whole region upon themselves, settled not only in the towns but in the remote corners of the Valley¹¹. As a matter of fact in no

period of Kashmir history was there such a large scale settlement of the foreigners in rural areas (especially for preaching and teaching purposes) as during this period. According to the contemporary sources there was probably no city, no town and no village where the missionaries did not reach and settle down permanently¹². The living traditions in the villages and the tombs existing there may prove of substantial help in substantiating the literary evidence. Apart from being a practical source of influence and inspiration of the new culture for the people living around them, these missionaries opened the Khanqahs and Madrassas with the help of which they diffused not only the knowledge of Islamic fundamentals but also the culture of their homeland¹³. A Khanqah was not a centre of religious propaganda and a place of prayer but also a language laboratory for teaching the language, a madrasa where after Persian and Central Asian fashion education was imparted and a workshop where diversified Persian and Central Asian artists and craftsmen worked, as permanent employees, to provide necessary facilities to the saints, student devotees and other visitors to these khanqahs. Thus one finds a Persian or Central Asian *nanwai* (baker), *qassab* (butcher), *bawerchi* (cook), *khiyat* (tailor), *naddaf* (cotton dresser), *nassaj* (weaver), *all-ifi* (corn chandler) and a host of other professions hugging a khanqah¹⁴.

At the same time it is to be noted that though a large number of Central Asian preachers came to Kashmir and settled there permanently, there is scarcely any evidence to show that they brought their families with them. Instead, there is a profuse evidence that these preachers married local girls¹⁵. These matrimonial relations forged a wonderful cultural synthesis. While these settlers were heavily influenced by their local wives¹⁶, an equal quantum of reverse influence cannot be doubted, particularly when the Central Asian culture had attained the position of what the sociologists may call the 'reference group' culture¹⁷.

In Central Asian acculturation, the role of the Sufis was highly effective because in the given religious surcharged atmosphere a Muslim or a neo-convert could not but take on the life style

of his preachers and their views. The recorded warm response of the rulers and the general masses to the call of saints upholds our view-point ¹⁸. The only difference was that the rulers, having no financial constraints, could completely imitate the new life style, whereas the financial factor became a serious barricade in the common people's efforts of acculturation. However, though they could not afford to wear a turban, they wore 'kala posh' (a lowly woollen cap) to respect probably because their preachers had advised them against a bear headed Musalman ¹⁹.

As is well known, the missionaries ultimately succeeded in converting a vast majority of the Kashmiri population to Islam. Conversion at the same time, entailed the new learning in correspondence with the changing circumstances of the time. Initially one could not expect more than primary schooling of new learning in the Valley ²⁰. Therefore, it became imperative for those who could afford and had zeal for higher learning to look for the great centres of Islamic learning for their intellectual and spiritual aspirations. Eventually, a Kashmiri could not afford an easily accessible and better seat of learning than the one close to the southern borders of his kingdom. Thus the Kashmiris who had hitherto looked towards Varanasi and other centres of Hindu learning for intellectual and spiritual training ²¹, now turned to Samarkand, Bukhara and other seats of Islamic learning that had sprung like mushroom in different lands of Persia and Central Asia ²². Naturally, on return to their native land, they would not merely get with them academic qualifications but also a new life style assimilated by degrees while living in the midst of a different but rich culture.

The economic factor which figured among the basic modes of technological and cultural change of our period may be for the sake of convenience studied under the following headings:-

1. State patronage to develop its economy and culture.
2. Commerce.

The state played an exceedingly important role in carrying and patronizing the Central Asia technology and culture in Kashmir. Such liberal and benevolent Sultans like Sultan Shahabu'd Din, Sultan Qutubu'd-Din and above all Sultan Zainu'I-Abidin played crucial roles in this regard²³. It is amazing to see with what enlightened and imaginative outlook a medieval ruler like Zainu'I-Abidin developed the Central Asian arts in Kashmir. For a proper understanding of the importation of Central Asian technology in Kashmir and the consequent fame of Kashmir as a land of bewitching arts and crafts, mention must be made of the steps taken by Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin in this regard.

First, the Sultan invited the artisans and craftsmen of different industrially advanced countries of the neighbouring world and offered them generous patronage. As a result, a galaxy of Central Asian artists and craftsmen thronged to the Valley. To quote Srivara²⁴, "who did not seek please the monarch and what artists, possessed of great designs in art, did not come from distant countries, like bees to the monarch who was almost like the kalpa tree? It was then that the people of Kashmira learnt the use of the weavers brush and loom, and today they are weaving valuable cloth of silk. The woollen fabrics called *soha* and others, manufactured in foreign countries and those made in Kashmir today, are both beautiful, but the latter are strong and fit for kings. Other clothes were made, on which variegated plants were produced by various methods of weaving, which painters saw and remained dumb with wonder."

Secondly, the Sultan sent some intelligent persons *mardan'i zirak* to some industrially renowned centres of Central Asia to receive training in different arts that did not exist in the Valley then. Writing about the introduction of the technology of paper making and book binding into the Valley by sending two intelligent men to Samarkand, a contemporary chronicler says²⁵ :-

در آن وقت، سیمچکس دریں ملک صنعت کاغذگری و مجلدی نمی دانست
آن بادشاہ فضیلت پناہ دو مرد کہ بزرگ و صاحب فہم و ادراک بودند بہ سمرقند
فرستاد و جرمعاش اہل و عیال ایشان تعیین نموده اسباب راہ و خرجیات سفر
با ایشان دادہ تا خاطر جمع بسمرقند رفتند۔ آن ہردو نفر صاحب فطرت چند
سال در آن شہر اقامت نمودہ یکی صنعت کاغذگری و دیگری مجلدی آموخت
بعد از دست کمال در صنعت مذکور بہرہ برد و نفر مزاجعت نمودن بہرہ ہنر را
بدین دیار صنائع مذکور شائع ساختند۔

Another commendable step taken by the Sultan to develop the industrial technology of Kashmir was that whosoever came to Kashmir was approached to find out if he knew any art²⁶. If he happened to know any, one or two wisemen were sent to him to learn that art. Referring to this, Baharistan-i-Shahi says²⁷ :-

ہر کسے کہ از اطراف و کناف بطریق مسافرت بدین دیار می رسید تفحص و تجسس
بسیار نمودہ از وی تحقیق می کرد کہ سیج ہنرے و صنعتے دارد۔ اگر ہنرے یا صنعتے
می داشت یک دو کس از اہل فطنت و ادراک پیش او می فرستاد تا آن ہنر از وی
می آموختند۔

Sultan Zainu'l-Abidin also took pains in persuding the rulers of Persia and Central Asia to extend their help in remodeling Kashmir after Persian and Central Asian culture. For example, in regard to the acquisition of some rare books from Persia and Central Asia, Baharistan-i-Shahi says²⁸ :-

در آن وقت درسی دیار کتب معتبره و تصانیف غربیه بسیار کم بود۔ آن بادشاہ
مرجی اہل ہنر انواع مختلف و ہدایا بلاطین ولایت فارس و خراسان و حکام عراق
سمتہ ان فرستادہ از ایشان التماس کتب معتبره و تصانیف غربیه نمودند چندان
فرہم آورد کہ در حیطہ سرو شمار نمی توان آورد۔

Not surprisingly, therefore, Kashmir became a highly industrial centre which presented a puzzle not only to Mirza Haider Dughlat who extensively toured in India and Central Asia²⁹ but also to Abul Fazl who in spite of his usual policy of belittling the achievements of all those rulers who preceded Akbar and especially of those parts of India which were newly conquered by his patron, could not but say, "There are artificers of various kinds which might be deservedly employed in the greatest cities"³⁰.

The economic inducement not only attracted the artisans but also the people belonging to diversified branches of human knowledge like scholars, poets, musicians, and physicians. The continuous movement of these fortune seekers from Persia and Central Asia to Kashmir generated and fostered by the patronage of the rulers, forms a conspicuous feature of the otherwise dry as dust chronicles of the period³¹.

Coming to the role of commerce in the technological and cultural exchange, the most outstanding part in this regard was played by Kashmir's position as an entrepot of trade between Indian and Central Asia. The Kashmir route was one of the two main overland routes which connected India with Central Asia.³² Traders who conducted trade between India and Central Asia had to pass through the valley, thus leaving the first imprint of their Central Asian acculturation on Kashmir before they could transmit it to India. This possibly explains why, in comparison to any other part of the Indian sub-continent Kashmir was influenced

more by the Central Asian Culture.

Apart from being a major channel of commerce between India and Central Asia, Kashmir's own external trade was more gravitated to Central Asia³⁸, and in the same way the valley also exercised an effective demand for some important Central Asian products. Its military strength and land transport depended upon 'Turkistan' horses³⁴. The shawl industry, for which Kashmir was famous in the world also depended upon Central Asia for its raw material³⁵. Same was the case with the silk industry which was a flourishing industry of the period. Silk worm eggs continued to be imported from Baltistan and Gilgit till as late as the seventeenth century³⁶.

The role of trade in tying up the two regions closer to each other can be imagined by the fact that we find a Kashmiri merchant giving 'qarzi hasana' to some people of Kashgar³⁷. Traders, as history is a witness to the fact, have played an effective role in transmitting techniques, ideas and culture from one land to another land. The traders of our period cannot, therefore, be excluded from this universal phenomenon.

Diplomatic gestures and etiquette also helped in fashioning the technology and culture of Kashmir after Central Asian matrix. We have sufficient evidence to show that the Sultans and the rulers of Central Asia entered into diplomatic and friendly relations with each other and exchanged the gifts of their respective countries³⁸. The exchange of famous local products, which predominated in these diplomatic and friendly gestures³⁹, was not simply apt to exercise a demand of these goods in each others markets, but was also apt to carry with it their technical know-how.

Mention must be also made of the two invasions on the valley by Mirza Haider Dughlat and his subsequent ten years political domination of the country⁴⁰, which contributed significantly to the technological and cultural/transfusion from Central Asia to

Kashmir. This Central Asian invader and the subsequent ruler of Kashmir introduced into Kashmir various types of musical instruments, new types of windows and doors and made innovations in dress and diet and in this way he stretched a point in favour of Kashmir's culture. An idea of profound impact of Mirza Haider's rule on Kashmir is offered by the trenchant remarks which Pandit Suka passed on those members of his community who imitated the Central Asian dress and diet in association with the 'Turuskas'⁴¹. Mirza Haider is also credited with having introduced 'hamams' (hot both rooms) in Kashmir for the first time⁴².

The cumulative effect of the nature, degree and pattern of the above mentioned contact between the peoples of two culture groups was that Kashmir's technology and culture came to be reshaped after Central Asian technology and culture. Since it is beyond the scope of the present paper to discuss the various aspects of Kashmir's technology and culture which underwent changes on account of the Central Asian impact, we would, however, conclude this hurried survey by quoting two contemporaries, whose statements amply bear out the magnitude of this impact. Shrivara, who was greatly upset over Kashmiris coming under the influence of Persian and Central Asian immigrants, wrote with bitterness, "As the wind destroys the trees and the locusts the shali crop, so did the Yavanas destroy the usages of Kashmir"⁴³. Mirza Aaider Dugelat, who had extensively toured Central Asia and some parts of India was baffled by the highest advancement Kashmir had made in the field of technology. He wrote, "In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are in most cities uncommon, such as stone polishing, stone cutting, bottle making, window cutting gold beating, etc. In the whole of Māwarā-an-Nahar, these are nowhere to be met with except in Samarkand and Bukhara, while in Kashmir they are even abundant. This is all due to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin"⁴⁴.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. In this connection the name of Saiyid Sharafu'd Din popularly known as Bulbul Shah is worth mentioning. He came to Kashmir during the reign of Suha Deva (1301-20) and is credited to have converted Rinchana who thus became the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir. See *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, Ms. Research Library Srinagar, ff 6 b—7 a and *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, by Haider Malik (transcript copy), Research Library Srinagar, pp. 37-38.
2. For the influx of Muslim missionaries of Persia and Central Asia into Kashmir, see A. Q. Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, pp. 16-125.
3. Cf. Saiyid Ali; *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Ms. Research Library Srinagar, f 5b. Mir Muhammad Hamadani, another missionary, was accompanied by his three hundred disciples. Cf. Khawaja Azam Didmari, *Tarikh-i-Azmi*, p. 42.
4. Muhibbul Hasan, while literally believing in some later sources opines that all those seven hundred people who followed Saiyid Ali Hamadani and the three hundred disciples who accompanied Mir Muhammad Hamadani belonged to the class of Saiyids, (Muhibbu'l Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, pp. 56, 63). This has naturally created an impression that except religious functions these followers of the Saiyids were ignorant of the other Pursuits of life.
5. Saiyid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, op. cit. f. 13 b; *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, op cit, f 16 b.
6. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, op. cit. f. 16 b.
7. *Tuhfat'ul-Ahbab*, transcript copy, Research Library Srinagar, pp. 12-13.
- 7A. Saiyid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 6 a.
8. See, *Sufism-in-Kashmir* op. cit. pp.
9. See Saiyid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f 5b, *Tuhfat'ul Ahbab*, op. cit. p. 257, *Baharistan i-Shahi*, op cit. f 11 a; and Haider Malik, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, op. cit. p. 42.

10. See, for example *Tuhfatu'l Ahbab*, p. 87 for Mir Shamasu'd Din Iraqi's exaggerated importance to tomb worship.
11. For the settlement of Muslim missionaries in different parts of the valley, see, Saiyid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, ff 6 a—7 a, 29 a—b and 30 a—b.
12. *Ibid.*
13. For these diversified functions of a Khanqah, see *Tuhfatu'l Ahbab*, pp. 283–84; Saiyid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f 22 a and Dasturu's, *Salikin*, (Urdu. tr. by Muhammad Tayeb) Vol. I pp. 26, 197, 98.
14. *Tuhfatu'l Ahbab*, p. 284,
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. Lamenting over this state of affairs, Shrivara says, "Sons are are now fond of the Mausulas (Muslims) and are ashamed to follow the *shastra* which was followed by their fathers and grandfathers", Shrivara, *Rajatarangini*, pp.319–20.
18. See, my unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, 'Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic And Cultural Life of the people of Kashmir Under the Sultans'. History Department, Kashmir University, pp. 77–84
19. For the fact that it was a matter of astonishment to find any body bare headed during the period. Cf. Baba Nasib, *Noor Nama*, MS. Research Library Srinagar, p. 350 a. For kalaposh being worn by the common people, see, Saiyid Ali, *Tarikh'i-Kashmir op. cit* f 256.
20. Sultan Shihabu'd Din, (1354–74) is the first known Muslim ruler to have opened *Maktabas* in the valley. See, Aba Rafiu'd Din Ahmad, *Nawadiru'l Akhbar*, Research Library Srinagar ff 290 a–b.
21. See Kalhana, *Rājatarangini*, tr. M. A. Stein. vol II p. 2.
22. *Sufism in Kashmir, Op. cit.* pp. 117–18.
23. For the patronage which these and other Sultans extended to the people belonging to diversified professions and the consequent influx of such people into the valley, see, Jonaraja,

- Rājataranginī* (tr. J. C. Dutt pp. 1157 - 1158) ; Shrivara, *Rājataranginī*, (tr. J. C. Dutt) pp 105,135-36; Saiyid Ali, op. cit ff 1a. 3a, 7b, 29a-30b and *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, ff 12a, 13a, 15a, 16a, 26b.
24. Shrivara, p. 151.
 25. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, ff 22b-23a.
 26. *Ibid*
 27. *Ibid*
 28. *Ibid*
 29. *Tarikh-i-Aasidi*, (tr. Denison Ross) p. 434.
 30. *Ain-i-Akhbari*, (tr. Jarratt) Vol, II, p. 350.
 31. Jonarāja, *Rājataranginī*, pp 51-56 a, Shrivara *Rājataranginī*, p. 105, 135, 136, Saiyid Ali, *arikh-i-Kashmir*, pp, 1a, 3a, 7b, 29a. 30b and *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, ff 12a, 13a, 15a 16a, and 26b.
 32. *The Travels of Marcopolo*, tr. and ed. by Mannuel Kamroof, p. 64.
 33. See, Baba Ali Raina, *Tazkirtu'l Arifin*, Ms, Research Library Srinagar, ff. 385b and 412b.
 34. *Ibid*, f. 440b.
 35. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, tr. Irving Brock p. 419.
 36. *Ain-i Akhbari*, II (tr. Jarratt) pp. 349-50: *Tuzk-i Jahangiri*, (tr. Rogers & Beveridge) II p. 145.
 37. *Tazkiratu' l' Arifin*, f. 412b.
 38. Shrivara, op. cit pp. 150-51.
 39. *Ibid*
 40. For a detailed account about Mirza Haider's life and his relations with Kashmir, see *Tarikh - i Rashidi*, (tr. Denison Ross, Inter. pp. 27. *Tuzk-i Jahanngiri*, tr. Rogess and Beveridge) II p.1 48and *Muhibu'l Hassan, Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p 1 125-144
 41. Suka' *Rājataranginī* (tr. J. C. Dutt) p 380.
 42. *Nawadiru'l Akhbar*, op. cit. f. 49b.
 43. Jonarāja, op. cit. p. 51.
 44. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* (tr. Denision Ross, p 434.

ICONOGRAPHIC INTERACTIONS BETWEEN KASHMIR AND CENTRAL ASIA.

J L. Bhan

Archaeological evidence available in Kashmir and at several places in Central Asia provide a clue to the cultural contacts and interactions between Kashmir and Central Asia from ancient times. The process of cultural transformation is perhaps nowhere so complex and enigmatic as in Central Asia. This is especially true of the cultural and economic interactions which took place on the famous silk route, connecting various regions of Central Asia and Kashmir from 2nd century B. C. onwards.

Studies in the various arts of Central Asia and Kashmir reveal the fact that these two regions had a two way traffic as far their religious and cultural relations were concerned. Political boundaries in Central Asia and its configurations have been shifting from time to time, culminating in constant cultural contacts and interactions which moulded the Central Asian society.

Kashmir, lying on the highway of hords of conquerors, pilgrims and merchants and being encircled by Tibet, Chinese Turkistan, Soviet Central Asia, etc, played a vital role in the socio-political transformation from very early times.. Remnants of diverse arts found in these areas prove that there was a continous movement of the multiethnic groups whose cultural milieu exposed through excavation unfold the important facts about their material and cultural life.

In this brief study, an attempt has been made to delineate the influences of Central Asian iconography on the iconography of Kashmir and vice versa, focussing our attention on certain iconographic affinities among various art objects in their form and

content, together with the changes in the institutions that commissioned the art, to understand the process of cultural synthesis in Central Asian art, a synthesis of Persian, Hellenistic, Chinese, Tibetan and Indian art. In their study, art is seen as one component of a socio-economic system which can be subjected to comparative analysis and an understanding of cultural traditions to the evolution of Central Asian art.

While the process of cultural contacts and interactions is complex and obscure, it has always been noted that the art of India influenced the art of Central Asia at several stages and at certain periods, the art of Central Asia also influenced the art of northern India and Kashmir as well. The artistic evidence available in Central Asia and Kashmir would enable a comparative study of the themes and forms which contributed to the formation of Central Asian style and in this process of cultural transformation which resulted in Central Asia involving various periods of its long history, a close interaction occurred between the art of Central Asia and Kashmir. A few objects, included in this paper, would perhaps provide a clue to the extent of cultural interaction that took place between Central Asia and Kashmir from time immemorial.

Kashmir seems to have been very receptive during the neolithic period (c. 2350 B.C.). Archaeological evidence available at Burzahom and Gofkral in Kashmir and at several places in Central Asia provide some clues about the constant ethnic movements of these people as can be gleaned from the material culture exposed through excavations in Kashmir and Central Asia. The presence of carnelian beads, for example are believed to be the imports from China. While the bone tools bear Chinese stamp, the stone tools on the other hand bear west Asian influence¹.

During the historical period, Kashmir seems to have come under direct influence of Parthians and Indo-Greeks whose sway extended upto Sind and encompassed greater part of northern India. Their impact in Kashmir remained quite obscure till excavations revealed their material culture at Semthan, Bijbehara in Kashmir² Among

the most significant finds are N. B. P. and some beautiful terracotta heads which throw considerable light on the cultural interaction between the Hellenistic and local elements. Although the date of these terracottas have not been fixed, they reveal profound Central Asian influences. A few terracotta heads include a man wearing a peculiar Central Asian type of head gear, a male with ribbon tied round his typical Central Asian coiffeur and female wearing a cross belt after the Central Asian fashion point to the earliest iconographic contacts established between the two regions. The presence of various ethnic groups of Central Asia is substantiated further by recent discovery of some unique tiles at Hoinar, near Pahalgam in Kashmir bearing some unique and strange motifs hitherto unknown in Kashmir³. These tiles besides other motifs bear figures representing two winged lions locked in a fierce combat unknown in the realm of Indian art tradition but gets an iconographical parallel in Iran at Qateh-i-Yazigird, a Parthian site built in Sassanian Iran [Fig. i, ii, iii,]. In fact the decoration style indicates that the palace set within a garden of paradise and protected by an elaborate fortified stronghold was a creation of 2nd century B. C. Parthian Iran, contemporaneous with Han China and Imperial Rome. The pair of winged lions in combat carved on the capital found at Qateh-i-Yazdigird is reminiscent of ancient Mesopotamian tradition⁴. Such motifs are reported to have come from Nuristan in Afghanistan as well and often appear on Scythian burials⁵. Stylised representations of various animals were very widespread in antiquity and occur in Central Asia to the north and west of the Black sea, ranging in the far off Siberia regions. The figures are often locked in combat. The portrayal of these figures may suggest that the inspiration might have come from Assyria, Iran, etc. in the context of Central Asia⁶. The animal motifs discovered far beyond the borders of Sythia was very common among native tribes in the early iron age. Greater contacts between the various tribes resulted in the spreading of the local style over a vast territory of Central Asia including Kashmir where this motif continued till 8th/9th century A. D.⁷.

The extensive remains found at Harwan in Kashmir reveal a fantastic world of art unique in its kind in the entire repertoire of world art. The tiles reveal various facets of diversified ethnic tribes of ancient Kashmir and with their diversity testify to an independent and original nature of the Kashmir artists who succeeded in the portrayal of various features of contemporaneous ethnic people among whom the Parthian, Greek and Turkish are predominant. This is further substantiated by the various structures built at Harwan with profound Parthian influences as revealed by the mode of dress with leggings, long swords etc. which is often met with in Parthian art⁸. The Parthian art tradition continued even after the Parthian rule ceased in Central Asia as is revealed by a beautiful tile found in Tajikistan, dating back to 7th century A. D.⁹. Ananda Coomaraswamy observed Chinese influence on Harwan tiles which is not tenable in view of the absence of any material example. On the other hand it may be recalled that Parthians and Sassanian culture which occupied most of Iran and West Asia from 3rd century A. D. mostly used clay for construction. Some tiles belonging to Parthians have the number marked in a similar way as used in Harwan tiles to assist in their correct placement in the architectural work. Harwan site is an important monument of cultural interactions that resulted by the contacts of various ethnic groups that might have lived in Kashmir during early historical times. The garland bearer motif on Harwan tiles bear close iconographical affinity with Gandhara and Miran in Chinese Turkistan in Central Asia.¹⁰

Harwan artist displays a command over synthesizing various elements of iconography prevalent in China, Turkistan, Greece, Central Asia under the over all Indian art traditions. It was however, in Kushan period that relations between India and Central Asia were fully established. The incorporation of north west India including Gandhara and Kashmir as well into a common state, under the Kushanas resulted in a free flow of art traditions between the two regions. If in the period of early Kushana rule, the main direction of interaction was from Central Asia to India, in the later period, the influences of Indian began



Fig. I
Tile stamped with a figure of intertwined winged lions.
Hoinar. Pahalgam, Kashmir.
(Coll S. P. S. Museum, Srinagar).

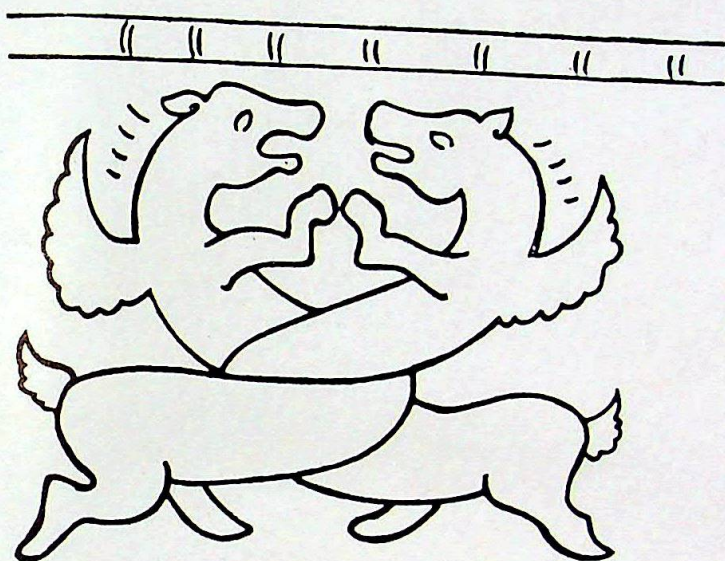


Fig. II
Intertwined winged lions,
Stone,
Qateh - i - Yazdigird,
Iran



1. Lion
2. Lion
3. Lion
4. Lion
5. Lion
6. Lion
7. Lion
8. Lion
9. Lion
10. Lion

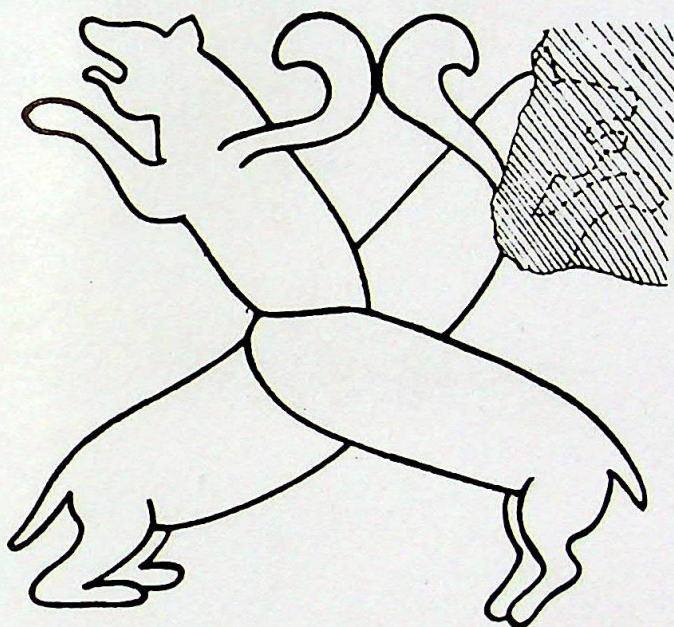


Fig. III
Intertwined winged animals on the two sides
of a pedestal of Buddha Image.
Bronze,
8th century A. D.
Kashmir.
(Coll. British Museum, London.)

to be felt increasingly against the background of the spread of Buddhism which had a great impact on the cultural traditions of Central Asia.

Kushan epoch was a period of close cultural traditions of mutual enrichment of cultures of India and Central Asia. During the early period the strong influences of Central Asian traditions can be seen in the dresses and weaponry etc. Arms given to different deities in Kashmir such as long swords, shields, spear etc. are robed in an attire, showing great impact of the ethnic contacts. What is most striking is a figure of Panikasiva wearing a coat of mail, an unusual iconographic innovation in Indian art probably finding its close parallel in Panjikent Siva¹¹. These figures are conspicuously observed in Kashmir sculpture from seventh century A.D. onwards¹². As already referred to many Central Asian tribes had settled in Kashmir who had introduced many Central Asian traits in Kashmir, otherwise unknown in the Indian context.

The paintings on the three Gilgit manuscripts covers of 7th century A.D. found during 1931 presently preserved in the Central Asian Museum, University of Kashmir are documents of exceptional value from the point of view of various factors¹³. Stylistically the Avalokitesvara figure with board and muscular chest and a narrow waist has an iconographical affinity to the figure from Dandan Ulike in Chinese Turkistan¹⁴. The Ghandharan influences are discernable in the muscular treatment of the chest and the body as can be notified on certain paintings of Bamyān in Afghanistan and western Tibet.

While the Buddha on the other cover has close iconographical affinity and is almost a product of Farhad Beg Yailaki and Balawasti of Chinese Turkistan¹⁵. The style of these paintings clearly brings out interaction between Kashmir and Central Asian school. While Central Asia exerted influence at certain times and periods on the art of peripheral India including Gilgit and Kashmir, there were also possibilities that influence of Kashmir on the

art of Central Asia were equally and profound.

The iconography of the Brahmanical Gods as well Buddhist deities of India seems to have been fully understood by Central Asian artists by the 7th century A.D. and did not confine to Chinese Turkistan and China but Soviet Central Asia also come under its purview. Thus at Panjikent (7th century A.D.) we come across paintings of Siva in various manifestations¹⁶. While at Taklamakan, terrecotta figures of Ganesh, Karttikeya¹⁷ etc. have been located and what could perhaps be very important for iconographical point of view are the two paintings of Siva found at Balawasti and Dandan Olik in Central Asia both of which get an iconographical parallel in Kashmir dating back to the 7th century A.D.^{18,19} How these three images appear simultaneously at Kashmir, Dandan Olik and Balawasti is a riddle. The iconographical peculiarities of these figures show Siva holding *Sun* and *Moon* in his upper two hands.²⁰

It is well known that *Sun* and the *Moon* played an important role in Central Asian iconography. It is likely that Siva acquired these two attributes in Central Asia. The *Nilamat Purana* (7th century A.D. text) however, gives textual description of the iconographical peculiarity. According to the *Purana*, Jalodhava, a water demon once attacked the gods and plunged the world in darkness. In order that Vishnu could find and destroy him, Siva upheld *Sun* and *Moon* in his two hands. The mention of this story in *Nilamat Puranu* seems significant and one wonders if the story was not invented to explain an iconographic feature that was both extraneous and peculiar. The Balawasti and Dandan Olik Siva figures share many common iconographical traits with the Siva images from Baramulla, Kashmir²¹ (Fig. iv). There is no doubt that originally the three headed form of Siva was derived from Kushana iconography, and Kashmir artists seem to have adhered to this strictly²².

From the site of Pandrethan in Kashmir were found



Fig. IV
Siva holding Sun and Moon in his two upper hands.
Stone,
7th century A. D.
Baramullah, Kashmir.
(Present location unknown).

some Buddhist images which have some stylistic relations with the Hadda, Fondukistan sculptures and are also comparable in iconographical features to the sculptures from Tang period (618-906 A. D.) from cave no. XIX at Tien Lung Shan²³. While the seated Buddha carved on a huge rock at Shakorai, Swat valley (7th / 8th century A. D.) in style and technique shows close iconographical affinities with the 7th/8th century A. D. Tang sculptures in Central Asia²⁴. The Buddhist images recently found at Fateh Kadal in Kashmir show close iconographical affinity with sculptures of the 6th century A. D. found at Ming-lo - Charchuk in Chinese Turkistan²⁵.

The presence of two Chinese inscriptions and two horses of Tang type at Chilas in N.W. Province and total absence of Tibetan inscription point to the direction of contact that was maintained at that time between Kashmir and Central Asia. Chinese facial expression are also observed in some of the late Ghandhara Buddha images as well²⁶.

The 8th century A. D. was a turning point in the political and cultural history of Central Asia, while many areas were politically displaced, artists of these areas migrated and settled in north west India, the picture of Kashmir was different. Kashmir seems to have come into a close political and cultural contact with China and Tibet due to political consolidation during Lalitadityas period. Many artist from China seems to have been recruited by the monarch and correspondingly, Kashmiri artists too visited and introduced their art in Central Asia particularly in Tibet via Ladakh. We cannot disregard the importance of Chankuna, a Tarim basin in Kashmir. The art of Martand and Parihaspora adds new chapter to the iconographical frame work of Kashmir and Central Asia. As already referred to, the Tang influence had already reached Kashmir and finally crystalised during Lalitadityas period²⁷.

While trefoil arch appears in its full form, the colonnaded perystle takes birth in Kashmir. Could it not be attributed to the presence of artists of various areas of Central Asia who carved sculptures not only with their own physiognomy but went to the

extent of providing long shoes even to Siva image which is most unusual iconographical trail of this God in the context of Indian iconography²⁴. Chankuna's Vihar at Parihaspur (8th century A. D.) gets its peer at Rewak Vihar (5th century A. D.) in Khotan in Chinese Turkistan and modelled upon Kanishka Stupa at Shah-jiki-dheri in Peshawar, Pakistan and Topi-i-Rustum stupa at Balk in Afghanistan²⁵.

The crowned Buddha images from Parihaspora, Kashmir are based on Chinese models not only because of facial features but the traingular cape and having shoulder effulgence gets its parrallel at Fondukistan in Afghanistan³⁰. The Buddha in the famous collection of JDR Rockfeller, USA is a marvel of eight century A. D. from Kashmir show very clearly amalgam of Kashmir and Central Asia influences. The axis of the composition is a crowned Buddha seated on a lotus suported by two Naga Kings emerging from water. This configration is the most complete example which gets its early iconography in the Hindu Kush in the famous sculptural group from Fondukistan dates 700 A. D.³¹ However, it is not only in Fondukistan that this variant of the jewelled Buddha appears seated on a lotus and supported by two Nagas flanked by the Buddha of the past and present symbolised by a stupa on either side of the seated Buddha. A stylised form of this composition also appears in the portable wooden shrine from Central Asia of 9th century A. D. A parrallel iconographic form may originally have been associated with the clay image form Fondukistan, Tape Sardar (7th century A. D.) and later on appear at Alchi (10th century A. D.) Ladakh also suggest that such a tradition persisted over a wide area in Central Asia including Kashmir³².

Kashmir monks were poineers as spreading Buddhism in Central Asia and China and while monks from these areas used to come to Kashmir to study Buddhism. Obviously in this interaction, Kashmir artists had become familiar with all kinds of art



Fig. V
Buddha wearing traingular cape stone,
8th century A. D.
Parihaspur, Kashmir,
Coll. S. P. S. Museum, Srinagar.



Fig. VII
Back view of Fig. VI

traditions of various styles. Ladakh which had attracted many scholars and artists to embellish their monasteries, gave preference to Kashmiri artists who had a rich repertory of art traditions and who contributed significantly to the development of own style as represented by Alchi. The art from Karakhota demonstrate the influences of both Chinese and Tibetan style and iconographic parallels with that of western Himalayas. The similarities in the painted banner from Karakhota and the 10th century wall paintings from Alchi are particularly striking and it seems that the work of Alchi and Karakhota separated by thousands of kilometers in space and time might have been commissioned by the same monastic order.

The carved stone mirror handle found in Soviet Central Asia depicting a female harp player seated on cushion and preserved in the Merv Museum, Akshabad in Central Asia, finds its parallel from Dheeri village in Kashmir³⁴ (Fig. vi)

A number of problems arise in the context of the interaction between the people of Central Asia and Kashmir. Hitherto our archaeologists and indologists have approached the problem from the view point of the spread of Buddhism alone and its impact on the areas under study. What is most significant and striking is that in the whole cultural milieu not only do the Buddhist icons exclusively find a prominent place but the entire pantheon is represented directly or indirectly. The association of the pair of Nagas with Buddha, the representation of Brahmanical deities in Central Asia, armoury and attire both in Central Asia and Kashmir and a close affinity of the deities in their technique and style in remote areas of Kashmir, China (Kansu, and Dunhuang), Iran etc. lead us to the conclusion that despite the insurmountable barriers of the ramparts of Hindu Kush, Pamirs, Karakoram etc. the art tradition were freely exchanged and established quite early in the evolution of the human civilization. That this cosmopolitan

tradition crossing all unseparable barriers was maintained and nourished by the people of different ethnic groups over a vast area suggest how on the assimilation of ideas beliefs and customs, as also in art techniques, people came close together to find expression not only in symbolising their deities through the medium of art but also in adopting the customs of other areas in their own characteristic fashion. To list a few iconographical features of interest, one is amazed to find in quite recent find of two terracotta heads. [Fig. viii, ix] a close similarity and iconographical affinity between the icons of Central Asia and Kashmir. The cored out pupils of these terracotta heads has its parallel in Kansu in China and Varaksha in Uzbekistan³⁵. The concept of Stupa in place of Mahaparinirvana in the Indian context symbolising the Nirvana of Buddha or his embodiment in a Stupa in Gilgit and Khotan, the recitation of *Sanghata sutra* indicates how close the people of different regions had come under one common ideology.

Again the famous *Surya* image of Kashmir of Cleveland Museum, USA, has its parallel in Khair Khana, and Ganesh image (Fig. x) found recently at Malwan in Kulgam, Kashmir with anthropomorphic *Ayudha Purusa* is iconographically close to Afghanistan Ganesha image³⁶, while the two headed Siva from Wukai, Kashmir is iconographically modelled on Karakhota³⁷. Siva and a host of other such icons clearly establish the versatility of the artists gathered from different art centres working in unison but separated in space, the addition of streamers under Sassanian influence till eighth century A. D., all conclusively establish that even with the fall and decay of kingdoms and empires, ideas and aesthetics continued to survive both in a physical and spiritual form. The vista undoubtedly opens a broad horizon of cultural interaction between different regions. Hence instead of characterizing the art as regional, it would be proper to say that it was the amalgam of Indian, Central Asian and Chinese art that dominated the canvas even after the eighth century A. D. when art traditions were gradually dying out from the places of their origin and evolution.



Fig. VIII
Ganesa four armed,
Stone,
7th century A. D.
Malwan, Kulgam, Kashmir.

This is more so in view of the fact the Buddhist art had become universal owing to its varied dimensions. Kashmir seems to have been nursery of such traditions for a pretty long time and we clearly witness its traces in art fragments. It is time that scholars were to examine in detail, the influx of ideas through art traditions so well preserved in different regions of Central Asia. The explorer and investigator has to dig out further pieces of this exuberant growth of universal art.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. T. N. Khazanchi's lecture delivered in CCAS.
2. A large number of Indo-Greek seals and coins were found during the course of excavations at Semthan, Bijbehara, Kashmir by Archaeological Survey of India.
3. G. M. Buth (Ed.); Central Asia and Western Himalayas, a forgotten link, Jodhpur, 1986, p. 44, illus. 4.
4. Height = 35cms.

5. Alexander Mongait : Archaeology in the USSR, Moscow, 1959, p. 174.

In Kashmir winged lions are carved on various architectural stone panels at Parihaspur (8th Cent. A.D.), Sugandhesvara temple at Pattan (9th Cent. A.D.) and at Tetha Mandir, Buniyar.

Winged lions in combat appear on the two sides of the pedestal of a metal image of Buddha of Kashmir in the British Museum, London. A winged lion appears as late as 17th century A.D. on a banner housed in the National History Museum, Moscow. Both these objects were seen by the author during his visit to USSR and UK in 1984.

6. Alexander Mongait ; *op. cit.*, p. 171.

7. *Ibid*; p. 174.

The intertwined lions appear on a Scythian burial in Ukrain 4 B.C. See Alexander Mongait, *op. cit.* It is likely that the wristlets carrying two heads of lions must have evolved from the intertwined lions motif. The Treasure of Oxus found at

River Oxus in Central Asia and preserved in the British Museum London include wristlets of gold with lion heads facing each other. This ornament is still in vogue in Kashmir and commonly known as *Sheer-Dar Kor*.

8. This is further substantiated by the recent discovery of some unique tiles at Hutamor, near Anantnag in Kashmir by the State Department of Archaeology Srinagar. The excavation of the second terrace of the three terraced structure at Hutamor, shows tiles numbered in Kharosti and artistically laid out in nine concentric circles depicting, various motifs such as *Kalpa vrksa* (wishfull tree) emerging from *Purnaghatta*, cock, geese, grape lion, stag, monster, lotus and aquatic pattern within a diametre of 24'.6" with *Kamalaghatta* (three dimension) in the centre.

A rubble stone wall encircles this circular tiled pavement. While this paper was being sent to press, the author had an opportunity to examine a few tiles and among other motifs, a tile from one of the concentric tile circles bear a unique and intriguing motif hitherto unknown in the entire reperture of Indian art. It shows an animal headed human being with his raised snout, standing in identical posture taken by *Bhū Varāha* on the famous Devsar Prah-āvali of 8th cent A. D. in the S. P. S. Museum, Srinagar. (see Manifestations of Vishnu- J. L. Bhan, published in *Vaishnavism in Indian Arts and Culture*, Ed. Rattan Parimōo, Delhi, 1978, p. 377). In the centre is a female monster (human head and animal body) standing in an dancing attire performing a ritual dance, while a devotee wearing a long coat and a typical cap is standing holding an incense burner or a goblet in his hand. Most probably these two unusual combined human and animal figures depict some primitive deities who were popular in ancient Kashmir. That the combined images of human and animals were known in Central Asia long before, is brought out by an interesting find of Bronze age monument at Trialet about 110 kms from Tbilisa in Trans - Caucasia. It is a silver

goblet embossed with pictures arranged in two horizontal bands. A string of deer is portrayed on the lower band and a procession of 23 figures with goblets in their hands. The figures are strange creatures with human bodies and animal heads and tails. The procession is moving towards a figure sitting on a throne besides a sacred tree near which are two altars and sacrificial animals, (See also Alexander Mongait; op cit. p. 124-125. The material exposed at Hutamor would therefore establish a vital link in the continuation of the cultural contacts and interaction between Central Asia and Kashmir during 1st/2rd Cent. A.D. The author intends to publish a detailed paper on Hutamor tiles.

9. A beautiful terracotta tile pertaining to 7th century A. D. found in Tajikistan in Soviet Central Asia shows an archer on a horse back chasing a running ram in a similar fashion as we come across on Harwan tiles— See Antiquities of Tajikistan (Russian), Dushenbe, 1985, pl. 452, p. 162.
10. Benjamin Rowland— Zentralasien, Spain, 1970, illus. 5, and 7; p. 32-33.
11. The three headed Siva based on Kusana iconography is holding a bow and arrow and robed after Central Asian dress closed in at the wristlets (7th century A. D.) gets its parallel in the dress of a hunter chasing an antelope on 2nd century A.D. tile from Harwan in the S. P. S. Museum, Srinagar. The dress also appears on the figure representing Zodiac Sagittarius on a tile of 15th century A. D. facade of the Mausoleum of Madin Sahib in Srinagar. The glazed tile is in the collection of the State Department of Archaeology, Srinagar.
12. A beautiful stone panel of 8th century A. D. from Bijbehara, Kashmir, in the National Museum, New Delhi, showing Sasthi with six sons of Krittika gives a kaliedoscopic view of the synthesis that took place between Central Asian and Kashmir

art during 8th century A. D.

13. Gilgit Paintings— Convergence of Art styles, J. L. Bhan (un-published), paper read at the National Seminar on "India and Central Asia - Links and Legacies" March 1988, organised by Centre of Central Asian studies, Kashmir University.
14. Sir Aurel Stein— *Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, pl. 29, p. 60.
15. F. H. Andrew : *Wall paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia*, Delhi, 1983, pl, XI, XII, 007-008.
The original wall painting is preserved in the Central Asian Gallery of the National Museum, New Delhi.
16. Such as four armed Siva holding Sun and Moon, seated on Nandi, Nataraja, Tripurantaka etc.
 - (i) A. Isakov : *Ancient Punjikent*, Dushenbe, 1982, Illus, 14, 23 & 24.
 - (ii) *The Central Asian art of Avicenna Epoch*, Dushenbe, 1980, pl. 11.
17. Among the various objects which Stein found at Yotkan in Chinese Turkistan are images of Ganesha and Karttikeya preserved in the Central Asian Museum of the Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir.
18. *Archives of Asian Art*: XXVII, 1273-74, p. 41-42.
19. Anthropomorphic form of the Sun is found at Martand temple (8th century A. D.), and on the famous Devsar Prabhāvali both Sun and Moon appear anthropomorphically. See Manifestations of Vishnu - J. L. Bhan published in *Vaishnavism in Indian arts and Culture*, Ed. Rattan Parimoo Delhi, 1987, p. 385.
20. Ved Kumari Ghai— *Nilamat Purāṇa* Vol. I, Srinagar 1986, pp; 6-7. The reference in the *Nilamat Purāṇa* to the *Chandradakarma* and *Arkomsakaran*, reveals that both the deities

were the objects of worship on various occasions in ancient Kashmir. The Purāṇa records the custom of worship of both Sun and Moon in ancient Kashmir. According to the Purāṇa the Sun and Moon Gods constructed their hermitage near Mahadev peak after Jalodbhava was killed by Vishnu. Andrews found a painting of *Chandra* (Moon) seated on *Padmāsana* in the dome of Toyuk shrine VI in Central Asia. (See Andrews, op cit. 41)

21. The image was lying at Shailputre *Ashtapan* in *Baramulla* Kashmir. Present location unknown. See *Archives of Asian Art* XVII, 1973-74, pp. 41-42.
22. Frequently on Kusana coins, Siva is shown with one or three heads and the Kashmir sculptor has adhered to this iconography.
23. *Archives of Asian Art*, XXVIII - 1974-1975, pp. 20-24.
24. Deborah E. Klimburg Salter- *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path*, USA, 1982, pl. 22, p. 5.
25. The Fatehkadal Buddha image of stone is on display in the open air corridor of S P. S. Museum. Srinagar. See also A. Stein - *Serindia*, III, Oxford 1921, p.295.
26. These images are preserved in the Peshawar Museum, Pakistan.
27. A. H. Dani - *Chilas - the City of Nanga Parvat (Dyamar)* Islamabad, 1984 - p.160.
28. Among various sculptures at Martand is a fine image of Siva seated in *Lalitāsana* and robed in long shoes and this unusual feature of long Sassanian shoes is also found with Atlant figures at Chakuna's Vihar at Parihaspur.
29. B. Brentiyes - *Remarks to the remains of Buddhist Art in middle Asia-Persica*, No. VIII, 1979; pp. 95-97.
30. Pratapaditya Pal - *Bronzes of Kashmir*, Austria, 1975

Illus. 30(a)(b).

31. F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond : *The Archaeology of Afganistan from earliest times to the Timurid Period*, London, 1978, pp, 292-93.

32. The treatment of the crown and the lotus throne of this beautiful image eloquently brings out the familiarity of the Central Asian artists with the art of Kashmir.

33. (i) K. N. Pandita (Ed.) - *Ladakh Life and Culture*, Srinagar, 1986, See Esoteric Buddhist art of Alchi - J. L. Bhan; p 57.

(ii) P. Paul - *Bronzes of Kashmir*, Austria 1975, p. 106.

(iii) F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond - *op. cit.* pp, 292-293.

34. B. Brentyes *op cit.* pp,95-97, Pl II, fig. 46.

35. Benjamin Rowland : *Zentralasien-Spain*, 1970; pl. 35; p, 233 and pl. 20.

36. Pran Gopal Paul : *Early Sculpture of Kashmir before the middle of the 8th century A. D.*, Holland, 1986, pl. 79.

37. (i) *Research Biannual J & K Govt.* Vol. I, No. II, Srinagar, 1970; See 'A note on the Bhairava image found at village

Wokai Kulgam - J. L. Bhan, pp. 30-32, illus, a and b,

(ii) Debaroh E. Klimburg Salter - *op. cit.* p, 113, illus. 36.

TRADE RELATIONS OF CENTRAL ASIA WITH INDIA DURING MIEVEAL PERIOD WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HORSE TRADE

Mohd. Rafiuddin Makhdumi

Central Asia has been from ancient times a melting pot of nations and cultures. Religious movements and other cultural currents flowed through this area. It was dominated especially by the Scythians, Kushans, Huns, Turks, Mongols and other races. With the passage of time, Central Asia became the focal point of influence from India, China and European countries. The period lying between A. D. 1245-1400 is of unique importance in her history during medieval times. Though for a brief period, it brought into contact the East and the West. The routs connecting these parts of the civilized world played a key role in their economic development. From China and India merchandize could take two routes to the west. The role of routes was very important since Central Asian highlands and regions north of Caspian Sea and Aral Sea could only be reached through overland roads.

Significant development occurred in the pattern of trade in early medieval centuries. It was in the large scale expansion of the maritime trade in the Indian ocean, Arabian Sea and South China Sea. With the well knit network of sea-routes, the silk route from China through Tarim Basin and parts of Afghanistan which had been major trade route with European countries got less emphasis. Basra was the famous port that connected Central Asia with Arabian Peninsula and via Red Sea with Egypt, as well as with southern and western shores of India with Indonesia and China. The main ports of the Persian gulf was Siraf to the south of Shiraz. Siraf was replaced by Hurmuz during 13th and 14th Centuries. From these ports mostly Persians sailed to India via Debal (Sind). Persians dominated the trade and marine activities during

this period The domination was to such an extent that many words of Persian origin are found in the nautical vocabulary of the medieval Arabs¹. Hurmuz became the meeting place of the traders from different regions of the world. It served the trading centre for redistribution to distant markets both European and Russian. In the middle of 15th Century Kalmak, Chinese, Indonesian, Indian and Arab traders got settled in Hurmuz².

After crossing Qaraqorum the trade caravan reached Yarkand where routes from Ladakh, Tibet, China, Khotan and India were joined by those leading to Kashghar³. From Kashghar the merchants could proceed to Sammarqand and Bukhara. Sammarqand was the junction of main trade routes from India via Balkh and from Iran via Merv⁴. Besides the trade on the Persian Gulf, the navigation on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea had a little importance. Apart from the Oxus and the Jaxartus on one hand and the Euphrates and the Tigris on the other, sea routes could almost nowhere serve as means of transport, because the Central Asian highland lacked important navigable rivers. In the west of Iranian region Qarmisin on the silk route was linked via Tabriz. Parallel to this route Hamadan was linked via Ardabil with Tabriz. In central northern Central Asia the area of Elburiz mountains to the Caspian Sea was linked with Siraf via Kashan, Isfahan and Shiraz. Near the south-eastern shore of Caspian Sea Damghan was the point of junction to and from Gurganj in Khwarazm. The route was connected to Nishapur which in turn met Shiraz via Yazd after crossing Dasht-Kawir⁵.

Brisk movement of trade and commerce continued between Central Asia and India during medieval period. Even the Mongols during the last decades of the 13th Century and in the beginning of 14th Century took stringent measures with regard to road travel and highway safety so as to provide sufficient security for traders and caravans⁶. Trade and commerce was carried out on a large scale by heterogeneous community of merchants from Central Asia to India to earn maximum profit⁷. During this period many merchants came from Central Asia and got settled in India to such

an extent that Khurasani became a word for the foreign merchants. India exported cotton, silk, sugar, herbs, medicine, indigo,⁸ spices, gold tissues, elephant teeth, hides, ivory, perfumes, wood, camphor, rubies, wheat, barley, millet and dried peas⁹. India chiefly imported dried fruits, slaves, precious stones and cuirasses. But the import of horses from Central Asia constituted the most vital item during medieval period. The importance of horses had attracted the attention not only of the then historians but also the travellers who passed through Central Asia during that period:

The Il-Khanid court historian Abdullah ibn Fazlullah Shirazi gives the details of commercial arrangements under which horses were imported to Pandyan kingdom situated in the southern part of India¹⁰. The price for each horse was 220 dinars of red gold. The losses incurred during the voyage was to be borne by the Pandyan king Sundara. During the reign of Atabeg Muzzafar u'd-Din Abu Bakr Sad bin Zingi, the ruler of Fars (the contemporary of Mangu Qa'an-A. D. 1251-59) under whose jurisdiction came the port of Hurmuz, 10,000 horses were exported annually to Malabar, Cambayat (modern Bombay) and other western ports during the middle of 13th century¹¹. The horses were reared and brought up with great care in Central Asia to be exported to India¹². The horses were brought from different regions to Hurmuz and Siraf and other ports where they were purchased by those who carried them to India¹³. Whenever the civil war and any political turmoil in Central Asia interrupted their export to India, the rising demand for the horses compelled the rulers to look for them from other sources¹⁴, though these could not match with Central Asian stock, India in return exported elephants. Historian Rashidu'd-Din Fazlullah makes frequent references to the visits of Indian merchants to Mongol empires. He has also made specific references to the elephants which were taken from India to Central Asia¹⁵.

Apart from al-Umari¹⁶ (A. D 1301-1348), the Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta in his travelogue¹⁷ has given the main source of supply of these horses during the early decades of the 14th century.

The supply of horses was to be maintained because the merchants of Persian Gulf refused to allow any veterinary doctor to travel to India to give medical training to the local experts and to take care of transhipped horses¹⁸. Ibn Battuta's statement without any doubt gives us an idea about the economic influence of Delhi Sultanate that had reached even the Golden Horde where from horses were brought down to Indian soil. Apart from land routes these horses were brought to India from the Persian Gulf also¹⁹. There are several instances where the Mongol and other visiting dignitaries from Central Asia received Arab horses in India²⁰. On the occasion of the treaty of peace between Sultan Feroz Shah Tughluq and Sultan Sikandar of Bengal, in addition to 80,000 tanka Feroz Shah gave to Sikandar 500 Central Asian horses²¹ (*Tazi wa Turki*). The whole Persian Gulf was engaged on a large scale trade of horses which were collected from different regions and then sent to India especially the Syrian horses (*Shami*)²². Amir Khusrau has mentioned in the tributes given by the Telingana king to Malik Kafur, the commander of Alau'd-Khalji's forces, among other things, the *Iseep-i-bahri*²³.

Custom Duty

The custom duty at Hurmuz was one-tenth of the value of the goods²⁴. In case of horses tax was levied on them at Sind at the rate of seven dinars a horse²⁵. Battuta further states, that in former times the marchants paid in duty a quarter of the imports but it was abolished on the orders of Sultan Mohammed Tughluq.

The Indian armoury and weapons were very famous in Central Asia especially *Shamsher-i Hindi*²⁶. A delegation from Khurasan during the reign of Sultan Mohammad Shah²⁷ son of Sultan Ghiyath-u'd-Din Tughluq made a lot of purchases in Delhi which included dresses, cloth, caps, belts, velvet, pearls, precious presents, paper and books. The *Makutibat-i Rashidi*²⁸ gives a list of goods which had been dispatched through the traders of Basra by

Sultan Alau'd-Din Khalji to Rashidu'd-Din Fazlullah. The list includes textiles, precious stones, perfumes, domestic birds and animals, conserves and pickles, aromatic drugs, medical roots (*akageer*) totaling 2350 mounds, pillows and quilts, sheets of dressed leather, oils and ointments, gold vessels including the ones made by Bengali craftsmen, vases, vessels of Chinese porcelain, martaban jars which included coconuts (3000) and *timar-i Hindi* (500 mounds). The list also includes large quantity of timber (*ikshab*) of various kinds like teak (*saj*), ebony (*Ibnoos*) and red sandal wood (*sandal-i-surk*). The last item includes the bones of ivory²⁹ and teeth of lion fish.³⁰

Tradition dies hard. It is with this background that we look for Central Asian Republics for trade, transactions and also cultural rejuvenation even in modern times.

Conclusion

1. The import of horses from Central Asia to India was a major item.
2. A large number of Indian goods and commodities had a special attraction for the merchants from Central Asia.
3. Trade was an instrumental factor in bringing Central Asia closer to Indian kingdoms.
4. India contributed substantially to international trade market during medieval period.

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4. Barthold W. *Turkestan Down to Mongol Invasion*, London 1977, p. 83,

5. Mustawfi. Hamdullah, *Nuzhat-ul Qalub*, Bombay A. H. 1311, p. 58.
6. Fazlullah R. D., *Jameut-Tawarikh*, ed. Karimi B., Tehran H. K. 1338, pp 1050-50.
7. Minhaj-us Siraj, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, tr., H. G. Raverty, Calcutta 1873-81, vol. II, p 215. He refers to a great Syed of Sammarqand who was the son of Syed Jalal Sufi the guardian of the local Khanqah who came to India in A. D. 1259 for the trade purpose.
8. Indigo is a blue powder made from the plants of genus Indigofere and is used as a dye. The foreign merchants were in a position to pay a higher price than Indian consumer.
9. Nadvi M. R. Akhtar, "Industry and Commerce under Abbasides" *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. I, 1953, p. 256.
10. Wassaf-i Hadrat, *Tajiziyetul-Amsar wa Tazjiyhtul-Asar*, Bombay A. H. 1269, p. 302. One thousand and four hundred horses were exported to the kingdom of Pandyas by one of the influential merchants Malik-ul Islam Jamalu'd-Din. He negotiated the deal not only on his behalf but on behalf of the other merchants of the Persian Gulf with Sundara, the Padyan king.
11. *Ibid*, p. 303.
12. Komroff M., *The Travells of Marco Polo*, New York 1926, p. 39.
13. *Ibid*, p. 40. Marco refers to the shipment of horses from Persian Gulf to Thana on the Western coast of India. Price of one horse in India was 200 Livres Tournois i. e. about £ 200 sterling.
14. Barani Z. D., *Tarikh-i Feroz Shahi*, ed. Khan J. A., Calcutta 1862, p. 53.
15. Fazlullah R. D., *op. cit.* p. 1033.
16. Al-Umari, *Masalik-ul Absar*, cit. by Zaki M., *Arab Account of India During 14th Century*, Delhi 1981, p. 84.
17. Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, tr. Gibb, London 1953, pp. 144-146. Battuta after describing his journey through Crimea

and his arrival at Azoq, writes, "The horses in this country are exceedingly numerous and their price is negligible ... The horses are exported to India in droves each one numbering six thousand more or less. Each trader has one or two hundred horses. For every fifty of them he hires a drover who looks after their pasturage -- In spite of the heavy taxes there remains a handsome profit for the traders, for they sell the cheapest of them in India for a 100 silver dinars (the exchange value of which in Moroccan gold is 25 dinars). They often sell them for twice or three times as much. The good horses are worth 500 silver dinars or more-- The horses which the Indians want for racing are brought to them from Yemen, Oman and Fars and each of these is sold for from one to four thousand dinars".

18. With the result the large number of horses died and there was a constant necessity of getting new horses annually. Consequently the traders of foreign countries brought them to India, Wassaf, p. 302; Ibn Battuta, p. 145, mentions the death of horses due to unsuitable forage available to them in India; Marco Polo attributes the cause of death to the hot climate of India, vide Komroff, p. 40.
19. Barani, p. 53.
20. *Ibid* p. 462.
21. Afif Shamsu'd-Din, *Tarikh-i Feroz Shahi* ed. Vilayat Hussain, Calcutta 1891, p. 151.
22. Amir Khushrau, *Khaza-in-ul Futuah*, ed. Wahid Mirza, Calcutta 1953, pp. 15, 16, 118, 163.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.
24. Sammarqandi, p. 72.
25. Ibn Battuta, p. 145.
26. Ravandi, *Rahatus-Sudur*, ed. Iqbal M, London 1921, p. 25.
27. Sirhindi Yahya bin Ahmad, *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, ed Hidayat Hussain Calcutta 1931, pp. 38, 108.

28. Fazlullah R. D., *Makatibat-i Rashidi*, ed. Shafi M, Lahore 1947, pp. 281-9.

29. Ivory is the substance obtained from the tusks of elephants and walruses.

30. From the bones of this fish knife-handles are still made.

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PERSIAN INFLUENCES ON KASHMIRI CULTURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LANGUAGE

Mohammed Munawar Masoodi

Among all nations and races who have come in contact with Kashmir none of them has left everlasting influence on the culture and civilization of the Valley as Central Asia. Kashmir developed contacts with Persia long before the political domination of the Valley by the Muslims as is clear from the archaeological and literary evidences. The use of such words like *debir* or *divira* (after the Persian *dabir*) and *ganjavara* (after the Persian *ganjwar*) employed by Kalhana in his *Rājatarangīni* is a typical example of Persian influence on Kashmir¹. However the process of cultural contacts tremendously accelerated after the foundation of Sultanate which opened the flood gates for the infiltration of Persian and Central Asian people in the Valley. The cultural impact of Persia exercised considerable influence over the traditional culture of the Valley. Along with other areas of Kashmiri culture, the language underwent a revolutionary change. Sanskrit which had been the court language of Kashmir since ages past gave way to Persian. Henceforth, Persian became language of the court the position she enjoyed for centuries later. As a result of the patronage she received from the rulers, Kashmir rubbed its shoulders with the Persian culture and it is due to a marked proficiency in Persian literature that Kashmir began to be called Iran-i-Saghir. Hafiz was not merely indulging in poetic inagination but was stating a fact when he said :

بشعر حافظ شیرازی گویندونی نازند
سید چشمان کشمیری و ترکن مرقندی

During the period of the Sultans, Persian was not only introduced in the region but it saw a marked development too. For this the role of religion was predominant. The muslim missionaries

who came to the Valley brought Persian language and literature with them as it was not only their mother tongue but it was also the most flourishing and common mode and medium of the intellectual traffic of the then Persia and Central Asia, where from the Muslim missioneries had their way to the Valley. As such, not only conversion was made by using Persian as a vehicle of communication for motivation towards Islam, but it was the medium in which the books for learning Islamic sciences were written. This ultimately paved the way for ascendancy of Persian in place of Sanskrit, once Kashmir witnessed the mass conversions of Hindus to Islam. It not only became the language of the elite and the language of the office, but its popularity among the common masses is also established by the facts. During this period a mass of Persian literature was produced both at the behest of the rulers and by the independent scholars and writers. Though only a little of this literature has come to us yet it is illustrative of the development Persian was destined to have during this formative period of Kashmir's history. Historical works, hagiological literature and some poetical works of this period are preserved in many libraries of the world. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* of Sayid Ali, *Baharistan-i-Shahi* (anonymous), *Dasturusalikin* of Baba Daud-i-Khaki and the poetical works of Shaikh Yoqoob-i-Sarfi are more than what needs to be cited to establish a remarkable development of Persian language in Kashmir in the Pre-Mughal period.

After the Sultans the government of Kashmir passed into the hands of the Mughals. Though the Kashmiri scholars and poets had now to look for distant Mughal courts for inspiration and encouragement, yet thanks to the firm roots Persian had established in the Valley, Persian language continued to be nurtured by the lovers of the Persian language and also by the scholars belonging to different fields of belief. The Persian language was also fortunate to have the Mughals its next rulers as they also belonged to the same linguistic stock. This was both direct and indirect inducement to the continuance and flourishing of Persian language

in the Valley. The cumulative effect of this was the proliferation of number of poets and historians. The name of Habibullah Hubi Nowshehri, Ghani Kashmiri, Mohsin Fani, Mushtaq Kashmiri, Baba Nasibuddin Ghazi, Baba Daud-i-Mishkati and Mohd Azam Didamari are the representative Persian poets and prose writers of the Maghal period, who greatly developed the heritage of Persian language in the Valley and became famous not only in the Indian sub-continent but in Iran too.

In 1752 Kashmir passed into the hands of the Afgans. who dominated it for about 66 years². The Afghan rule is notorious for political unrest, inhuman exaction: absence of any constructive measure in the Valley and so on but paradoxically Persian literature saw a spectacular development during this period, which can be ascertained by the fact that during this short period of time, not less than sixty poets flourished in Kashmir. What is more is that, it is for the first time in Kashmir history that a Board of Persian poets (Unjuman-i-Shorai Farsi) was established for composing the *Shahnama* of Kashmir in imitation to that of *Shahnama-e-Firdosi*. For a proper estimation of the development of Persian literature under the Afgans. it is important to give a brief survey of the literature produced during this period.

1) The first known poet, who in fact died immediately after the inception of Afghan rule in Kashmir was Mulla Mohd Ashraf Bulbul. Bulbul who was born in 1682 A.D./1094 A.H. and died in 1756 in his ancestral village Dayar in Pulwama, was a great lover of poetry and wrote a quintet (*Khamasa*) on the pattern of *Khamasa* written by celebrated poet of Iran, Nizami Ganjavi. Out of these five mathnavis, only one entitled '*Reza Nama*' has come down to us³.

The Manuscript copy of this mathnavi is preserved in the manuscript library of Kashmir University, Srinagar⁴. He is the

first Kashmiri poet to have written the Tragedy of Karbala in epic. The other four *mathnavies* of Bulbul are extinct, namely : - i) 'Hasht Tamhid' or 'Haft Bahist' ii) 'Hasht Asrar' iii) *Arzan-wa-Heimal*. iv) 'Meh-r-wa-Mah'. All these *mathnavies* have been mentioned by Bulbul himself in his last *mathnavies* *Reza Nama*. "*Arzan-wa-Heimal* is a regional romantic episode, written for the first time in Kashmir in which the Hero is Hindu. From his verses, it appears that he had command over Persian terminology. His diction and style are plain, simple and natural.

2) Another famous poet of the period is Mulla Mohmad Toufiq commonly known as Lalajoo and famous, after his pen name, Taufiq. He was born in Srinagar in 1696 A. D.⁵/ A. H. 1108. He enjoyed the coveted honour of being poet laureate under the Afghan Governor Raja Sukh Jiwan Mal (1754-64)⁶. He died in A.D. 1765/A. H. 1197 at the age of 89⁷. In poetry he was at first disciple of Mulla Sate and after that he learnt at the feet of Mushtaqe Kashmiri. He composed elegant poems in imitation of Hafiz, Jami, Saib, Kalim and others and left behind a collection of his verses known as *Kulyat-e-Toufiq* which contains Ghazals, quatrains, Qasidas and Mathnavi. The Diwan of his Ghazals is preserved in Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh Muslim University, while his mathnavi "*Ahwali-i-Mulk-i-Kashmir*" is preserved in the Research Library of Kashmir University. It throws light on valuable historical and religious development in Kashmir. Raja Sukh Jiwan Mal, the Afghan Governor of Kashmir (1754-64) appointed a Board consisting of seven poets namely Toufiq, Shaiq, Matin, Hassan, Raje, Naveed and Mohd Jan Bag Semi under the chairmanship of Toufiq to compose a *Shahnama* about the political history of Kashmir⁸. Of this *Shahnama*, as mentioned above, Mulla Toufiq wrote independently a part known as *Ahwali Mulki-Kashmir* which consists of about 2000 verses connecting the history of Kashmir from Yousuf Shah Chak to the reign of Jahangir (1605). The major portion of this was completed. But in the mean time Raja was killed and with the result the work was discontinued and could

not be completed. Sixty thousand verses of the *Shāhanāma* were composed by Shaiq under the topic known as "*Rayazul Islam*" or *Tarikhi-Shaiq*" The manuscript copy of this valuable work and his Diwan of Ghazals is preserved in the library of Cultural Academy Srinagar in two volumes⁹. If this Mathnavi is edited and published a new material way be available to throw additional light on the political and cultural events which took place in Kashmir during the period represented by the said work.

3) Abdul Wahab Shaiq was born in A.D 1706 at Srinagar¹⁰. According to the chroniclers he was an Imam of a mosque. He was considered to be an expert in writing chronograms. As a poet of outstanding merit he earned a name during the governorship of Raja Sukh Jiwan Mal, who appointed him a member of the Board of seven poets entrusted with writing the history of Kashmir under the chairmanship of Mulla Taufiq. Further details of the life of Shaiq are not available. He died at Srinagar in 1768 A.D./1182 A. H.¹¹ and left behind a historical work in verse entitled "*Reyazul Islam*" which consists of sixty thousand verses¹². It is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the advent of Islam in Kashmir upto the rule of Yousuf Shah Chak (1579-82). In the second part an elaborate account has been given with regard to the life and miracles of the rishis. The manuscript copy of this valuable work in two volumes is preserved in the Research Library of Cultural Academy, Srinagar, Kashmir.

4) Bhawani Das Kachroo whose surname was Tiku, lived in the 18th century and held an office of responsibility under the Afghans in Kashmir. Not much detailed account of his life and works is available except some poems and Ghazals which are recorded in *Bahar-e-Gulshani-Kashmir* (Vol. II) by Pandit Brij Krishan Kaul of Lucknow edition 1932¹³. Hassamuddin Rashidi in his anthology of Persian poets in Kashmir has also cited some verses with reference to above mentioned book.

5) Daya Ram Kachroo whose *nom-de-plume* was "Khoshdil"

was a Kashmiri Brahman of an aristocratic family and was well known for scholarship in Persian and Sanskrit. He was in the service of Afghans and held an office of responsibility in Kashmir. In connection with this official work he travelled to Kabul and other cities of Afghanistan. According to his son Birbal Kachroo Warusta, the celebrated historian and author of *Majmu-al-Tawarikh* Khoshdil was in the service of Wazir Wafadar Khan and Sadat Ali Khan¹⁴. Khoshdil during his stay in Kabul wrote valuable letters of historical importance to his friends in Kashmir. Daya Ram Kachroo Khoshdil is considered to be a celebrated literary figure of the 18th century well versed in both prose and poetry. He has been praised highly by the author of *Bahar-e-Gulshan-e-Kashmir* for his ability and achievements. He died in 1811 A.D. and left behind the following works in Persian poetry and prose which are of considerable importance and merit¹⁵.

i) Collection of Diwan of his verses prepared in A.D. 1803, and in some of the verses he has explained the Hindu philosophy of thinking and beliefs.

ii) "*Mathnavi - e - Kashmir*", which contains description of Kashmir, and trend of the time in Persian poetry in Kashmir has also been included.

iii) "*Tarana-e-Sarur*". It is also a prose work written on music in which quotations from *Sāma Veda* have been recorded and references to Maulana Rami have also been made.

iv) "*Gita-e-Farsi*". It is a Persian translation of the *Bhagvat Gītā* written in prose, and the spirit of the original Sanskrit text has been maintained. The manuscripts of all the above four works are preserved in the Maulana Azad Libeary, Muslim University, Aligarh.

6) Mohd Wasil Khan, Wasil Kashmiri is one among those who left Kashmir in the later Afghan period. Wasil first migrated to Delhi, but after some time he left Delhi and settled in Lucknow. He was an eminent poet of Persian

ghazal and has left behind a Diwan of Persian Ghazals which comprises about three hundred Ghazals and thirty three quatrains and a historical Qasida compiled in 1227¹⁶. He died in A.H. 1207¹⁷. The poet has followed the style of Hafiz. The *Diwan-e-Ghazliyat-e-Wasil* is preserved in Maullana Azad Library, Aligarh. This Diwan of his Ghazals has been damaged by water with the result most of the ghazals are not decipherable. In his ghazals, Wasil seems to be a true lover of natural beauty as the greater part of his ghazliyat contains the same ideology. Some of his ghazals also speak of some historical events in India. His quatrains have also been included in his Diwan of Persian ghazals.

Among other prominent Kashmiri Persian poets who lived in this period and served Persian literature by adding to it a valuable portion in prose and poetry mention may be made of:

- 7) Muqbool Kashmiri (alive in A.H. 1233)¹⁸, wrote *Zubda - ul Azkar*.
- 8) Muhtishim Khan Fida, (born A.H. 1138, died 1197 A.H.)¹⁹.
- 9) Khauja Mohd Azam, author of *Waqiat Kashmir* (A.H. 1185)²⁰.
His other works are as follows:
i) *Faiz-e-Murad* ii) *Fawaidul Mashaikh* iii) *Resala-e-asbatul -Samarate Ashjar*, and *Sharhi Kibrit e-Ahmar*.
- 10) Pandit Tika Ram Akhoon author of the '*Kubuk Nama*' (born A.D. 1774 and died in 1864 A.D.)²¹.
- 11) Hasan Raja Kashmiri a member of the Board of Adjumen-i-Shuara-e-Farsi (alive in 1175 A.H.)²².
- 12) Maulana Natiq a great poet of Qasida and follower of Anwari (alive in A.H. 1179)²³.
- 13) Maulvi Attaullah Huma son of Mulla Mohd Boolaqi Kaloo and disciple of Sadudin and Shaikh Rahmatullah Tarabali (d. 1194 A.H.)²⁴.
- 14) Khuaja Aminuddin Amin Kashmiri, (d. 1199 A. H.)²⁵. Sayid

Shah Atta Kakwi has edited his Diwan and published it from Patna in 1966.

- 15) Mohd Jan Beig Sami son of Mirza Sayed Beig Kabbhak (d. 1185 A. H.) in Delhi, a non Kashmir born and lived in Kashmir²⁶. He wrote a mathnavi namely *Tarikh Islam* comprising 1500 verses.
- 16) Mohmmmd Yahya Haya son of Mullah Mohammad Amin Naroo (d. A. H. 1182)²⁷
- 17) Mohd Asim Beikhud (d. A.H. 01)²⁸
- 18) Munshi Ghulam Ghouth and Pandit Saram Kashmiri²⁹.
- 19) Mohd Raza Kant Disciple of Mulla Sate (d. A H 1182)³⁰
- 20) Baba Karamallah son of Mulla Mohi Sadiq (d. A.H. 1198)³¹
- 21) Habibullah Dalloo son of Khuaja Noorullah, a poet and a calligraphist (d. A. H. 1198)³²
- 22) Mir Ihsanullah Fasahat Khan Razi, disciple of Mullah Abdul Ghani Beigh Qabool and writer of Mathnavi *Ashob* (d. 1197 A. H.)³³
- 23) Mohd Hayat Handi disciple of Mulla Dana³⁴
- 24) Sharfuddin Khaa Farhat, son of Mohd Jan bin Mulla Kazim Jalali³⁵
- 25) Mohd Farooq disciple of Mir Mohd Maroo³⁶.
- 26) Mohd Rafi Mahtji disciple of Allama Shaheed Charagh, a non Kashmir poet settled in Kashmir in the reign of Raja Sukh Jiwan Mal, (d. A. D. 1177)³⁷
- 27) Mohd Ali Khan Matin son of Asamuddin Khan Kashmiri disciple of Abdul Ghani Beig Qabool and the last Mughal governor Abdul Qasim Khan, was a member of the Board formed by Sukh Jiwan Mal, (d. A.H. 1197)³⁸
- 28) Assadullah Shagoon, disciple of Shaikh Yahya Rafiqi, is known as a great satiric poet in Mathnavi³⁹.
- 29) Mir Anaituilah-bin-i-Shukrullah-bin-Hussin Kant was a conte-

- mporary of Raza Kant, (d. in Karnah, north western border of Kashmir)⁴⁰.
- 30) Khuaja Bahauddin son of Khuaja Noorullah (born in A. H. 1180/A. D. 1766) (d. 1248/1832) was disciple of Mullah Mehmood Balakhi⁴¹. He wrote "*Khamsa*" under the following topics:
 - i) *Rishi Nama* (4000 verses) ii) *Sultani Nama* (3000 verses)
 - iii) *Ghosa* (5500 verses) iv) *Naqshbandia* (4600 verses) and
 - v) *Chistia* (3000 verses). His *Khamsa* is preserved in the Research Library of the State government.
 - 31) Khawaja Abdul Ghafoor (d. A.H. 1191)⁴².
 - 32) Abdul Wahab Himat⁴³ and
 - 33) Assamuddin Bandey son of Hassamuddin (alive in A.H. 1197)⁴⁴. He was a court poet of Azad Khan, the Afghan governor; he also wrote a Mathnavi entitled '*Kashmir*' under the patronage of Azad Khan.
 - 34) Mahvi disciple of Mohd Akbar Rafiq and a contemporary of Mulla Abaidullah is famous for his mathnavi '*Chainama*'. (Mulla Hamidullah also wrote this mathnavi later in Sikh period)⁴⁵.
 - 35) Mullah Habibullah⁴⁶ and
 - 36) Mullah Abaidullah (born in Srigagar A. H. 1181), author of '*Shama-e-Nabavi*' (A. D. 1268)⁴⁷.
 - 37) Mirza Mohd Ali Azad born in the second half of 12 centry, spend his thirty years of life in journey to Iran etc and wrote the following mathnavis⁴⁸.
 - i) *Haft Daftar* ii) *Khum, Khana-wa-Maikhano* iii) *Hikayat-e-Ishq Bazi* iv) *Diwan-e-Ghazaliyat*
 - 38) Pandit Nand Lal Dhar Begharaz, author of '*Tarana-i-Beigharaz*' (d. A. H. 1224)⁴⁹.
 - 39) Pandit Buni Ram Haqeer (alive A. H. 1224)⁵⁰.
 - 40) Pandit Narian Dal (lived in A.H. 1229)⁵¹.
 - 41) Dokd Zakir Kashmiri born in Kashmir but lived in Multan, Lahore, Delhi and died in Banaras in A. H. 126,0⁵² translated *Padmavat* into Persian poetry.

- 42) Pandit Aftab Bhan Zaka a court poet of Afghan governor Azad Khan (A. H. 1199-1212)⁵³.
- 43) Pandit Gopal Naqad Kashmiri⁵⁴.
- 44) Marhamat Khan Saqib (d. A.H. 1221⁵⁵ at Delhi)
- 45) Shaikh Nasiruddin Gharib and Mir Ali Naqi known as Mehshar⁵⁶
- 46) Rafiz Saifuddin Mehjoor and Mustafa Khan (born in A. H. 1208) wrote *Qafia wa Nahw* in Arabi (d. 1271)⁵⁸.
- 47) Pandit Dayanath Rangeen author of '*Hadid-2-Khak Nishin*' (d. 1247 A.H.)⁵⁹
- 48) Pandit Birmal Kaul (b. A.D. 1796 Tanki Pora and (d. A. D. 1860)⁶⁰.
- 49) Mirza Mehdi Mujrim⁶¹ (a sufi poet)
- 50) Hakim Rahmatullah Khuaja Amanullah Mohd Aqil⁶², Kabiri Kashmiri and
- 51) Pandit Taba Ram Turki known as Betab born at Rainawari in A H. 1212⁶³. He has left behind his poetic memories in in the mathanvi namely '*Jang-i-Afghan-wa-Sikhan* and '*Ranjit Nama*.⁶⁴
- 52) Mulla Hamidullah Hamid son of Maulvi Hamayatullah was born in Kashmir in the 2nd half of 12th century and died in A. H. 1264 A. D. 1848⁶⁵ at Anantnag Kashmir and has left behind his following mathnavis :—
 i) *Akbar Nama* ii) *Shakaristan* iii) *Chainama* iv) *Rad-e-Shia*
 v) *Baiboojnama* vi) *Napursan nama* and *Dast-urul Amal* in prose.
 Mullah Hamid was a great poet of Mathnavi and was well versed in having command in imitation of Firdousi. His *Akbar nama* is preserved in M. A. U. Aligarh while his all other works have been prserved in the library of the Research and Publication Department of the State government
- 53) Khauja Hassan Kaul author of a prose work "*Zubdutul-Akbar*" and '*Chahar Darvish*' in poetry (d. A. H. 1298)⁶⁶.
- 54) Mohd Shah Faseeh disciple of Mahmood Wala⁶⁷.

- 55) Asadullah Raja Nahvi, Khuaja Mohd Shah, Khuaja Saduddin and Mufti Sadruddin Azarda was born in A. H. 1204⁶⁸.
- 56) Sadullah Shab (alive in A. H. 1197)⁶⁹ author of 'Baqh-i-Sulaiman.
- 57) Pandit Lachmi Ram Kashmiri a celebrated poet of Ghazal, Qasida and mathnavi⁷⁰.

Some of the prominent chroniclers, historians, calligraphists and scholars of Persian of this period are:-

- 1) Shaikh Mohd Ussman-bin-Mohd Farooq translated "*Zubdatul-Asrar*" into Persian which is a selected translation of "*Behjatul-Asrar*" of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Geelani. Shaikh Mohd Usman completed it in the reign of Afghan governor, Buland Khan Bamzia (A. D. 1773 A. H. 1176) and 1775/1178)⁷¹.
- 2) Allama Taffazul Hasain author of, I. *Sharhi Ali Makhrootate Samani*⁷² II. "*Jabr-wa-Muqabla* III '*Sharhi Ali Makhrootat-i-Ailinus* IV. *Sharh-i-Makhrootati* Devbal etc. Taffuzal Hasain died in A. D. 1801/A.H. 1215⁷³.
- 3) Mulla Attaullah Khan - Kahi (alive in A.H 1178)⁷⁴ wrote '*Khazinatul Adad*' on mathematics and was a well known calligraphist of his time who had command on mathematics⁷⁵.
- 4) Mufti Qiwanudin son of Amanullah Shaheed (d. A. D. 1804/A. H. 1219)⁷⁶.
author of "*Sahaif-i-Sultani*".
- 5) Pandit Birbal Kachroo son of Daya Ram Kachroo is a well known calligraphist and the author of his great historical work in Persian namely "*Majmu-Tawarikh*"⁷⁷.
- 6) Shaikh Mohd Rafiqi was a great scholar of Persian and has written the following books in Persian⁷⁸ :-
i) "*Tuhfatul Ahbab-Fi-Nashil-Maghrorien-ba-Asnab*". ii) "*Misb ahuduja* iii) '*Tuhfatul-Aqida* and '*Tathierul-Qalub*'
- 7) Sayid Ghulamudin Azad Qadri⁷⁸ and

- 8) Shaikh Sharifuddin Zahgir (d. A. D. 1816⁸⁰) wrote of "*Rozatu-Salam*" which deals with the life, style and works of Sufis⁸¹ in Kashmir.
- 9) Khuwaja Abdul Karim Kashmiri (d. A. D. 1816⁸²) the author of "*Bayan Waqia*", "*Tarikh-i-Nadri*" and "*Ebrat-Maqal*". *Bayan-i-Waqia*, is a detailed history of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali and is preserved in manuscript library of A. M. U. Aligarh⁸³.
- 10) Mulla Noor Mohammad Noor known as Baba Putloo (d. A.H. 1195/1781 A. D.⁸⁴) wrote a book "*Matlool*" in prose.
- 11) Mulla Husain Kashmiri wrote "*Ajaib-al-Baldan*" in Persian on Geography in A.H. 1218⁸⁵.
- 12) Khizir Baba Bijbehari wrote "*Azkarul Urafa*" containing seven chapters⁸⁶.
- 13) Mulla Haider Pushloo son of Mulla Jakaluddin Pashloo has written following books :-
 i) *Noor-i-Siraj* ii) *Miftah-ul-Rahma* iii) *Misbah-Zulma*
 iv) *Marqa-ul-Ghazlan* v) *Rasm-i-Khat-i-Quran* vi) *Durr-i-Yateem*
 vii) *Ghraibul-Gharaib* viii) *Manabe* ix) *Mirul-Hasanan* and *Sharhi-Chehl-Char*. *Marqa-ul-Ghazalan* has been written in A.H. 1212⁸⁸.
- 14) Khuja Mohd Azam Dida Mari S/o Khairuzaman (d. A.H. 1185⁸⁹) wrote his famous chronicle *Waqiate Kashmir* in A.H. 1148⁹⁰. His other memories in Persian are i) *Faiz-i-Murad* ii) *Fawaidul-Mashaikh* iii) *Resala Absatul Jehr* iv) *Tajrubatu-Talibin* v) *Ashjar-i-Khuld* vi) *Samarate Ashjar* and *Sharh-i-Kibrit Ahmr*. Among others are, Sayid Jalal-bin-Sayyid Jamal (d. A. H. 1217⁹¹), Haji Abdul Wali Tarkhani (d. A.H. 1171⁹²), Shaikh Ali (b. in A.H. 1150), (d. A. H. 1214⁹³) Akhund Noorul Huda (d. A.H. 1199⁹⁴).

It was not, however, only language of Kashmir which underwent a dramatic change after Persian influence but the other aspects of life were equally influenced by the said culture. The impact of Persian culture was so profound and so deep that the Kashmirs still bear a good deal of its impression. And in the

formation of present culture of Kashmir, Persian influences have played a dominant role. This is strikingly visible in every aspect of Kashmiri life, whether arts & crafts, dress, diet, architecture, music, manners & customs or any other branch of Kashmiri civilization. In fact Kashmir owes much to Persia and as such for understanding the history of Kashmir one must have a first hand knowledge of the history of Persia.

The most significant contribution of Persia to the culture of Kashmir was to enrich its industrial field. A large number of arts and crafts for which Kashmir has been famous throughout the world, was introduced from Persia for the first time during the period of the Sultans, particularly during the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin. The famous arts and crafts of Kashmir like shawl weaving, carpet weaving, paper mache, wood carving, coloured tile making and a number of other crafts which vanished after the introduction of industrial revolution in India, owe their origin to the period of Sultans who imported them from Persia. In fact they patronised them under their benign care. Before the introduction of these arts, Kashmir's industrial sector was very poor so much so that even loom was not indigenously found in the Valley. According to Shrivara it was introduced by the Persian craftsmen⁹⁵. The art of making permanent bridges in the country was also the contribution of Persian artisans. Before them during the period of Hindu Rajas there were no permanent bridges. Instead, boats were bound together by chains which gave a passage over the river. Thus the system of permanent wooden bridges based on cantilever principle, which were in vogue in Kashmir until the introduction of cement, was the contribution of Persian artisans.

The cultural influence of Persia is also markedly visible in dress and diet. The present dress of the majority of the people of Kashmir like Pheran, Qemize, Shalwar, Sadri, Chogha, Qiba etc. owe their introduction to Persian influence. The head dress of Kashmiri women called 'kasaba' and burqa (Kashmiri) was also introduced by Persian immigrants, besides, enriching their stock of ornaments by adding such ornaments like, 'ring' (nose pin)

guluband (a neck ornament) *goshwar* (an ear ring) *dastband* (an armlet) *sarwar* (another ornament used in arm) *pazeb* or *khalkhal* (an ornament of legs) etc. The modern Kashmiri *Wazawan* which constitutes such delicious dishes like, *yakhni*, *rist*, *qabab*, *tabak-maz*, *plav*, *harisa*, *bakerkhumi nan* and pottery like *samawar*, *sarposh*, *bushzab*, *finjan*, *surahi*, *kashuk* etc also found way in the Valley for the first time during the period of the Sultans and the credit for popularising these dishes also goes to Persian immigrants. By virtue of their special tastes these dishes gained popularity among the upper classes and eventually formed the choice dishes of the feasts of Kashmir.

In the domain of various kinds of amusements and recreations of Kashmir Persia contributed a lot. It was as a result of the cultural impact of Persia that many new kinds of games were introduced in the Valley like, *chaughan*, *tirandazi* (archery), *shah-sawari* (horse riding) *falconary*, *shamsher bazi*, etc. Besides, the fireworks for display in times of rejoicings were also for the first time manufactured in the country by Persian fireworkers. Kashmiris were also fascinated by the vocal and instrumental music of Persia.

Since a large number of Persian musicians thronged to the courts of the Sultans of Kashmir they brought with them their own style of music which ultimately fascinated the *local* people. A new kind of music took birth which was a synthesis of the Persian and the local styles. To this can be traced the growth of modern classical music of Kashmir known as "*Sufiana-Kalam*", which has about forty four *muqamat* (modes) out of which some are like the Indian *ragas* and bear Indian name like *Bhairavi*, *Lalit*, *Kalyan* etc. while others have Persian names, as for example *Isfahani*, *Dugah*, *Punjanh*, *Iraqi*, *Rast-e-Farsi*, *Sahgah*, *Sitar* etc. The first mention of this kind of music which is sung in chorus comes from the pen of Shrivara the court chronicler and court musician of Zainul Abidin who had also acquired proficiency in these difficult *turushka* metres. Such musical instruments

like *rabab*, *sitar*, *duhal*, *duff*, *mizmar*, *surmay*, *karranay* and *chang* were also introduced by the immigrant musicians of Persia.

One of the important reasons of cultural and lingual exchange between Persia and Kashmir was the progress of Islam in the Valley which was intimately associated with the missionary activities of Sufis from Persia. Important among these are Bulbulshah, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani, his son Mir Mohammad Hamadani, Mir Shamsddin and many others. These Sufis in particular and others in general played an important role in bringing about Central Asian orientation of Kashmiri culture and language.

The impact of Persian language and culture was not only because Persian was made the official language and the language of the curriculum, but more important factor in this direction was a large settlement of Central Asian people in the Valley. There is an unbroken record of migration and permanent settlement of Central Asian people long before the establishment of Muslim Sultanate in Kashmir. However from 1339, a new era opened in this valley. During the period of the Sultans there was a continuous stream of Central Asian people in the Valley who made a profound impact on different facetes of Kashmiri life. The Mughal conquest was also immediately followed by the colonization of the Mughals. This was the part of Mughal imperial policy. They encouraged the Mughals to settle in the Valley so that they would help in suppressing the local rebellious elements. The large scale settlement of the Mughals in Kashmir during the period can be gleaned by the fact that St Xavier who visited Kashmir immediately after the Mughal conquest was told by the Kashmiris that as a result of large migration of Mughals in Kashmir, the old self sufficiency of Kashmir had come to an end.

The Mughal rule of Kashmir was followed by the Afghan domination. During this period we again come across a large settlement of Central Asian people particularly Afghans in the Valley.

This settlement was again the result of imperial policy of the Afghans. Like their predecessors, the Afghans also faced a stiff resistance from the Kashmiris particularly the nobility. Therefore, in order to establish their rule they too felt the critical need of encouraging the settlement of their loyalists from Afghanistan in Kashmir. Besides, Kashmir also offered a new source of income and patronage to different Afghan adventurers and men of different professions like traders, artisans, poets, scholars and so on and so forth. No wonder, therefore, we find some localities of Kashmir exclusively inhabited by the Afghan people. These inhabitants still retain their puritan character. Among these localities mention may be made of Kangan, Bandipora, Berhva, Narbal, Khag, Shopian, Kishtwar, Rajouri, Amirakadal in Srinagar, and many other places in Kashmir.

Kashmiri language being a most important member of the Dardic sub-group of Indo-Aryan languages, is a typical example of cultural change in Kashmir. It may not be an exaggeration to say that in the formation of Kashmiri as a language, the contribution of Persian is not less than providing flesh and blood to a skeleton. Apart from accepting innumerable Persian words, Kashmiri developed itself on the lines set forth by Persian language and literature. This is amply clear even from a hurried survey of Kashmiri poetry, which, as a matter of fact originated during the period of the Sultans, Mughals and Afghans in Kashmir. It is very much probable that many local languages of Persia might also have found their way in Kashmiri language, but for the reason of being ignorant of these languages, I leave this area open. It is not possible here to discuss pretty large number of Persian words which are commonly used in Kashmiri language and literature to day. This needs a separate treatment.

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IDENTIFYING SOME UZBEK WORDS IN THE KASHMIRI LANGUAGE - AN ATTEMPT

Akhtar Mohi-ud-din

Uzbekistan, a Soviet Republic now, comprises 450 thousand kilometer territory with more than 10 million population out of which 70 percent is ethnically Uzbek. More than half of the territory is covered by sands of the Kara - Kum and Kazi - Kum deserts, 20 percent is occupied by mountains and only 20 percent is habitable because of large rivers like the Amu-Darya, the Syr-Darya etc.

The Uzbeks are considered an ancient agricultural people speaking one of the Turkic languages called Uzbek. The region, like the whole of Central Asia, is considered the ancient cradle of civilisation. Archaeologists have discovered in the area flint instruments dating back to the stone age (800-500 thousand years B.C.).

Central Asia has always been a cross road of humanity. This land has for many centuries witnessed bloody battles. Time and again foreign conquerors would raze to the ground the towns of Central Asia and transform the land into a desert and thus causing large scale exodus of Uzbeks to neighbouring areas which, perhaps, included Kashmir as well.

Towards the beginning of the first century A. D. there already existed in Central Asia different written languages and a rich literature in astronomy, history and philosophy.

During the mediaval period science and the arts of the Central Asian peoples achieved a high plane of development. Mathematicians like Alfarghani, scholars like Muhammed bin Musa Alkhorzemi, the great genius Abu Rehan Mohammed Alberuni, the great scholar and medical man Abu Ali Ibni Sina, the poet, thinker and

the founder of Uzbek literature Mir Alisher Navoi are but a few names that have made a name in the world of Science and the Arts;

Kashmir was fortunate enough to receive the influences of the Central Asian regions and perhaps generate interaction between the South Asian and Central Asian concepts, ideas and modes of life. In this context Kashmir has been the real University where in the words of Pt. J. L. Nehru "adventure of ideas" coming from north, south, east, and west has taken place and new synthesis called Kashmiri culture has taken shape.

In the process the Kashmiri language, whose antiquity can, in my opinion, be gauged only by some new methods of linguistic science, has been influenced by the Central Asian languages. The influences are both deep and vast and need to be identified by competent scholars both as a discipline by itself and as a guide to rediscovering the Kashmiri language.

Here I have made an attempt to identify some Uzbek words in Kashmiri. The attempt is feeble because of the obvious reasons of my being not fully conversant with the Uzbek language.

We start with the Kashmiri word *Booni* meaning the plane tree. The tree is found extensively in the Central Asian region of Tadjikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenia and Azerbaijan.

If at all the tree has migrated into Kashmir from any other part, then there is evidence to prove that the region might be Uzbekistan, because in Uzbek language there exists a word, namely *Bon* which stands for "a root, a sapling with the root" Since the plane tree cannot be grown without a sapling with the root we can attach credibility to the claim that the tree first introduced into the Valley came as a *Bon*-a sapling with the root and the word

Bon became in Kashmiri name of the tree. This magnificent tree is now part of our psyche and we should feel thankful to those who made us richer by this gift.

Samovar, both the thing and the word, are still extant in Central Asia, particularly Uzbekistan but in the Kashmiri Society it has acquired a unique place. Be it a festive occasion or otherwise the *Chai* (tea) cannot be imagined but in a *Samovar*. My hunch is that the thing like *Nar* started from Kashmir itself because not only all its parts bear Kashmiri names like *Nara banu hee muath* and *than*, but the *muath* the handle, bears the dragon shape which no Central Asian region claims to possess as part of ancient culture and religion, May be Kashmir had it much earlier under the influence of Mediterranean migrants.

The Kashmiri *Samovar* is, in any case, more elegant and light and easy to carry from guest to guest like the modern kettle. The bread that goes with the *Chair* bear Uzbek names like *Kulcha*, *Lavas* and *Bagir Khani*. Only *Tsochivor* both the word and the type of bread, seems unadulterated suvior of the oldest confectionery of Kashmir.

Wazawan is erroneously believed to have come from the Central Asian region. The names of some preparations like *Rogan Josh*, *Kabab* and *Tabaq Maz* etc., falsely suggest their origin like *Sadmakars* and *Kete peers*, from that region. While *Khebob* (The Uzbek for *Kabab*) may be given the benefit of doubt other preparations are definitely the handiwork of the Kashmiri cook, who remains the most clever chef in the sense that with bare mutton he prepares as many varieties as he does and the guest while helping himself with any of the delicacy does not even remember that in reality, he was eating just mutton and nothing else. How these preparations differ in form, combinations and taste from each other is something to marvel upon.

But *Hareesa* the morning dish during winter months deserves some consideration for, it is being relished as far in north-west as Armenia and Georgia. I have found it served in a restaurant even in Leninograd. The word is pronounced as *Areesa* and in its preparation not much spices are used consequently making it slightly insipid for the Kashmiri taste.

In Kashmiri when you want to say that somebody was, as is wont in Kashmir, profusely abused, you say "*Tooz Parinas*". *Tooz* is an Uzbek word for book. May be the word *Kitab* is a later entrant into this language and being the synonym of the word *Tooz* has replaced it but not completely. The word has occupied a not-an-enviable position in the above expression,, but in any case, persited to survive in the language of its adoption.

It is claimed that the first muslim to enter Kashmir was a Syrean, named Hameem, who accompanied Raja Dahir's son, Jaisya, when he took refuge in Kashmir at the time of Mohmmmed Bin Qasim's invasion of Sindh. It is, further, said that this Hameem built the first mosque in Srinagar.

The source of this information does not seem to be as genuine as it ought to have been because of various reasons, some of which being :-

- a) where exactly was the mosque located?
- b) what were the architectural designs used for its construction?
- c) can a mosque be built for just one person to perform prayer when the chief aim of the mosque, according to muslim faith is to provide a central place for the faithful for meeting and discussing this worldly affairs in addition to offering prayers collectively.

In any case the mosque does not seem to have left any impact on the region, perhaps because, if it existed, it was not

architecturally suited to the climatic conditions of Kashmir, Hameem having belonged to the hot regions of West and South Asia.

Kashmiri mosque is universally divided into two parts. While one part is used for offering prayers the other part is used for social gatherings like collecting funds for the maintenance of the mosque, settling small disputes concerning the locality and even holding *Panchath* for the settlement, out of court, of family disputes etc. amongst the community members. Some time this part of the mosque would even provide comfortable work place to Rafgars and other needle workers during winter time, because it has stone slabs for flooring which are cool in summer and warm during winter seasons.

The Kashmiri mosque has, probably, developed in the colder regions of Central Asia and is, perhaps, yet another gift of the Uzbeks to Kashmir for, as has been recorded by our historians "it was from the north particularly Uzbekistan, that later syeds, preachers, soldiers, crafts men etc. entered into the valley bringing with them the new message'."

With the mosque came its Uzbek name *Mishid* into Kashmiri. Uzbeks gave this word, let it be noted, to Russian language also and while Russians continue to pronounce it as *Mishid* we in Kashmir have slightly changed it to *Masheed*.

There may be numerous other words from the Uzbek language in Kashmiri and vice versa. To identify them a concerted effort by young and dedicated workers is needed to be made and the Centre for Central Asian Studies should be able to provide them necessary training facilities and incentives to undertake the job.

architecturally similar to the ancient temples of Kashmir, having belonged to the late regions of West and South Asia.

Kashmiri music is a universal art. While one part is used for official purposes the other part is used for social gatherings. His collection of folk songs for the maintenance of the mosque, singing small verses concerning the locality and some religious chants for the settlement of the land, is highly distinctive. The collection is made in a part of the country where the conditions were very different from those of other parts. The collection was made during the winter for the purpose of the collection of the songs and during the summer for the purpose of the collection of the songs.

The Kashmiri music has, probably, developed in the course of time. It is a part of the culture of the people of Kashmir. It is a part of the culture of the people of Kashmir. It is a part of the culture of the people of Kashmir. It is a part of the culture of the people of Kashmir.

With the change of time, the music of Kashmir has changed. It is a part of the culture of the people of Kashmir. It is a part of the culture of the people of Kashmir. It is a part of the culture of the people of Kashmir. It is a part of the culture of the people of Kashmir.

There have been many changes in the music of Kashmir. It is a part of the culture of the people of Kashmir. It is a part of the culture of the people of Kashmir. It is a part of the culture of the people of Kashmir. It is a part of the culture of the people of Kashmir.

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SAFFRON AGRONOMY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN KASHMIR

G. M. Mir

The process of regional development and the growing stages of regional economy are influenced by the spatial arrangements of the important economic structures. The economic set up depends mainly upon the resource potential of a region. So the study area being agrarian in base and having a poor industrial support due to non-availability of raw-material and highly difficult terrain, demands a balanced developmental strategy in which agriculture is to be transformed and highly remunerative crops given top priority.

The diffusion of saffron (*crocus sativus*) has dawned upon the government as a solution of some of the major regional problems and its improvement is considered to be the panacea to underdevelopment. The paper is based on the field study conducted by the author in 1985-86. It attempts to elucidate the spatio-temporal behaviour relating to habitat, economy, society and other associated attributes in its regional dimension. The cost-benefit analysis and its role in socio-economic transformation has been worked out. On the basis of geo-ecological framework its future projection of areal sprawl also has been traced.

A comparative regional study of the cost-benefits of important and dominant cereals-cum-non-cereals reveal that saffron has proved to be the highest remunerative crop of Kashmir valley (table I).

TABLE I

Input-output structure of Important crops

P E R			KANAL/ANNUM		
Corp	Input Expenditure Rs.	Gross Income Rs.	Net profit Rs.	Average Balance Rs.	
Saffron	148. 28	4283. 08	4134. 80		
Almond	251. 11	1983. 32	1732. 21		
Apple	367. 03	1729. 45	1362. 42	1644. 25	
Mustard	232. 67	822. 24	582. 57		
Paddy	282. 50	691. 76	409. 26		

Table I depicts that saffron cultivation is 2.38 times more remunerative than almond culture; 3.03 times more profitable than apple growing; 7.09 times than mustard and 10.10 times more remunerative than paddy cultivation. The over all input-output ratio of saffron comes to 1:29 against the ratio of 1:2.4 of paddy. The average benefit level of all the five crops is much lower than that of saffron having a ratio of 1:2.5 and is much above than that of paddy with the respective ratio of 1:-0.2 (fig. 1).

Due to such structure of cost-benefits, saffron diffusion has played a fundamental role in socio-economic transformation of saffron growers in particular and the region in general. A positive correlation exists between saffron holding and the levels of socio-economic development (table II)

NET BENEFITS FROM DOMINANT CROPS (PER UNIT AREA)

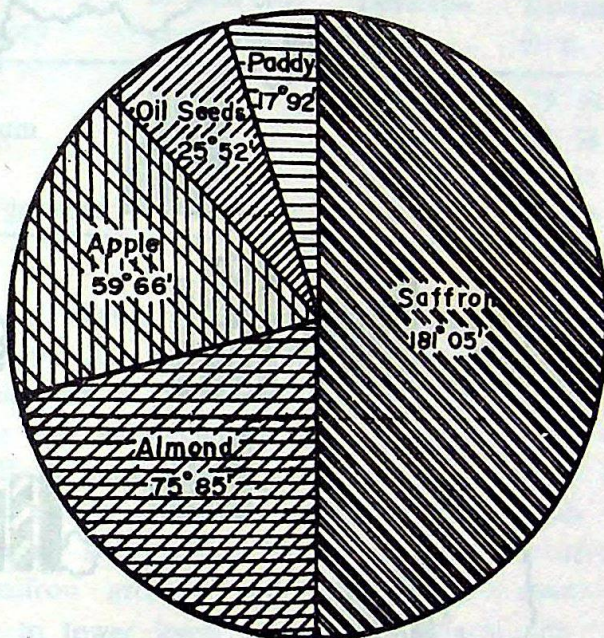


Fig. 1

KASHMIR VALLEY LEVELS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (Intra-Village)

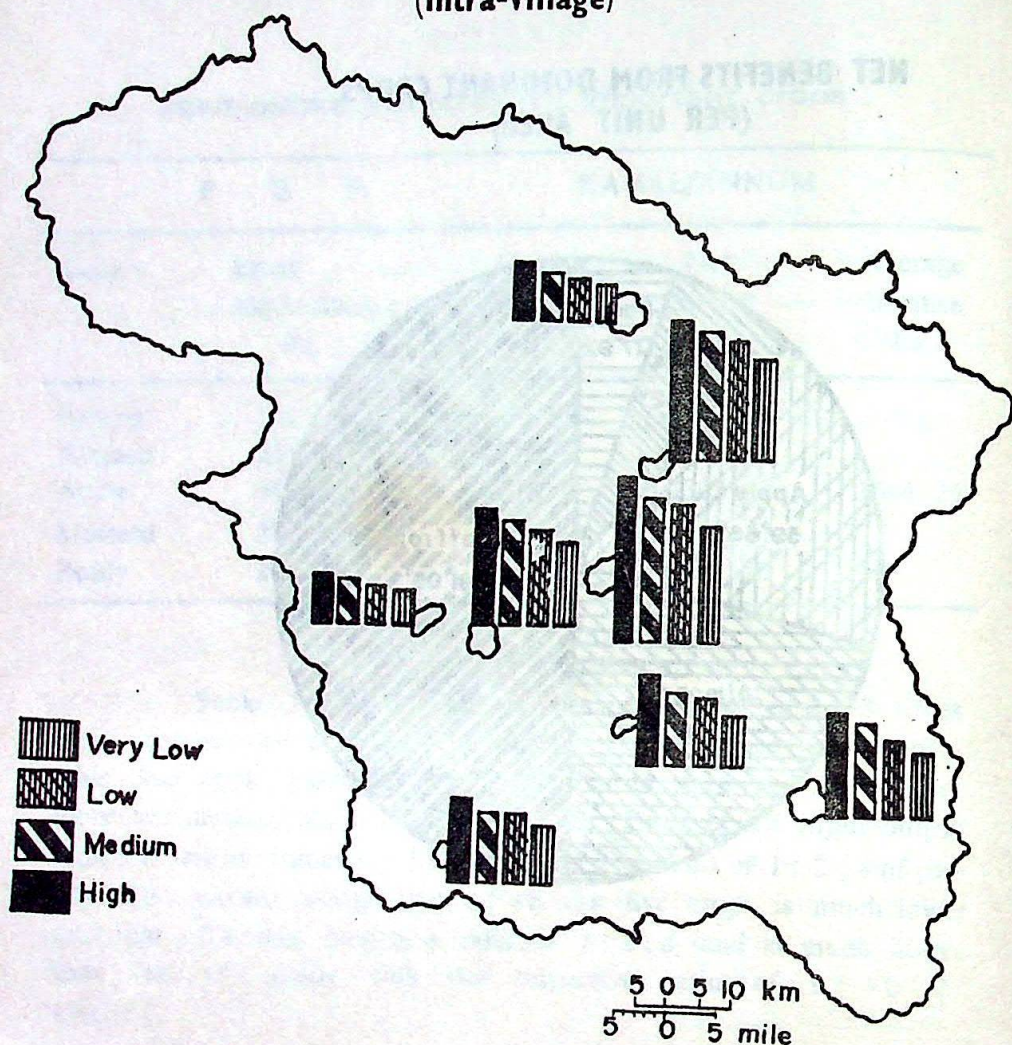


Fig. 2

TABLE II

Levels of Development in Relation to Holding Size

Village/Hou- sehold Category	% saffron/gr- owing area to total cro- pped area	COMPOSITE INDEX		
		Economic Develop- ment	Social Develop- ment	Socio-Econ- omic Deve- lopment
High	> 50	16.58	29.84	46.42
Medium	25.50	10.48	22.59	33.07
Low	< 25	5.73	13.88	19.61
Non-growers	Nil	4.04	12.09	16.13

Table II clearly reveals the watertight compartmental relationship that exists between saffron holding and socio-economic development of the region. All the developmental indicators in each village and household indicate a positive charge with an increase in saffron holding and vice versa. A deep insight of the table leads to the nature of saffron cultivation being highly adoptive to the "Trickling Down Effect Model" i. e. how the development achieved by saffron growers with varying degree automatically percolates down to lower levels, a factor associated with rational universal developmental planning. Interestingly both the inter as well as intra-village studies show similar findings. The technique of 'Bifurcation Ratio' reveals that each saffron grower in the category of high saffron holding group is 1.4 times more developed as compared to that grower falling in medium category who in turn is having a developed socio-economic set-up as compared to that grower who falls in low category. The grower of the latter category is having 1.2 times developed living standard as compared to a former who does not grow saffron (fig. 2).

The average developmental ratio of 1 : 2.04 between a non-grower and saffron growers clearly indicate the role of saffron culture in ameliorating the rural lot.

The different stages of development experienced in saffron growing areas during the last decade show a marked correspondence with the various stages of crop growth. The temporal variation shows a recent and abrupt growth in all the three variables of area, production and yield. About 47 percent of present saffron growing areas owe its origin to the year 1984. During the last decade (1975 - 85) it experienced three well marked stages of growth. In the first stage (1975 - 79) all the three variables showed a slow but better progress as compared to the previous period. In 1979 - 83, termed as medium growth period, the area doubled only in four years. The production multiplied by 5.95 times and the yield level also showed an encouraging trend. During 1983-85, covering the stage of high growth, area increased by 1.8 times, production showed an enhancement of 2.33 times while yield level also experienced a remarkable progress. Some of the irregularities traced are due to perennial nature of the crop (fig. 3).

The spatial variation in area, production and yield of saffron reveals a patchy cultivation limited mainly to karewas of south-central part of the valley. At present (1985-86) it is cultivated in fourteen tehsils comprising five districts. It has been diffused in 184 villages i.e. 6.25 percent of the rural settlements occupying an area of 12600.88 hectares meaning thereby above 3.7 percent of net sown area of the valley (fig. 4.). It gives an annual production of 1460.14 quintals providing an annual income of about rupees one thousand million a great contribution towards state economy. A tehsilwise distribution shows its highest concentration in Pulwama which alone covers 73.29 percent of the total saffron growing area of the valley contributing about 72.17 percent of the total production. The remaining thirteen tehsils share 26.71 percent of the total saffron growing area corresponding to a production of 27.83 percent. So far as the yield level is concerned, Duru and Chadura have the lowest and highest yield levels respectively (table III).

TREND OF AREA, PRODUCTION AND YIELD OF SAFFRON (1968-83)

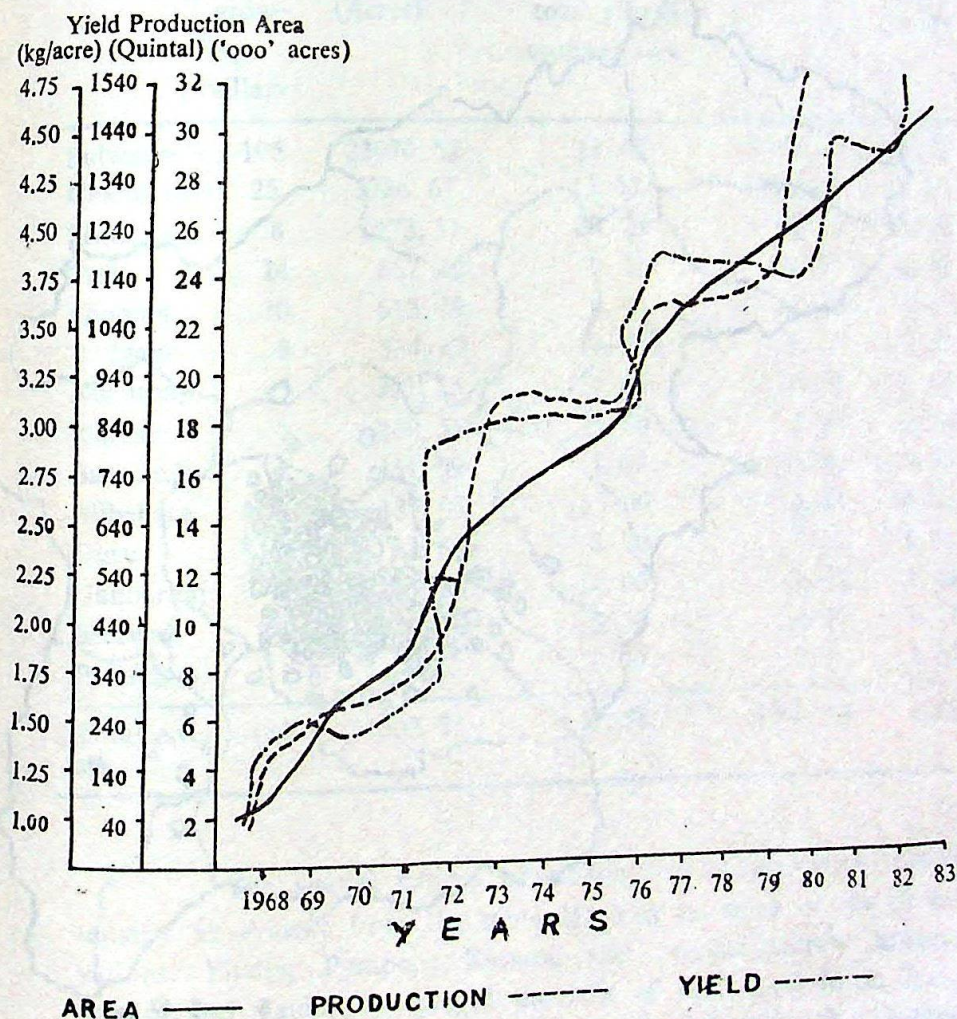
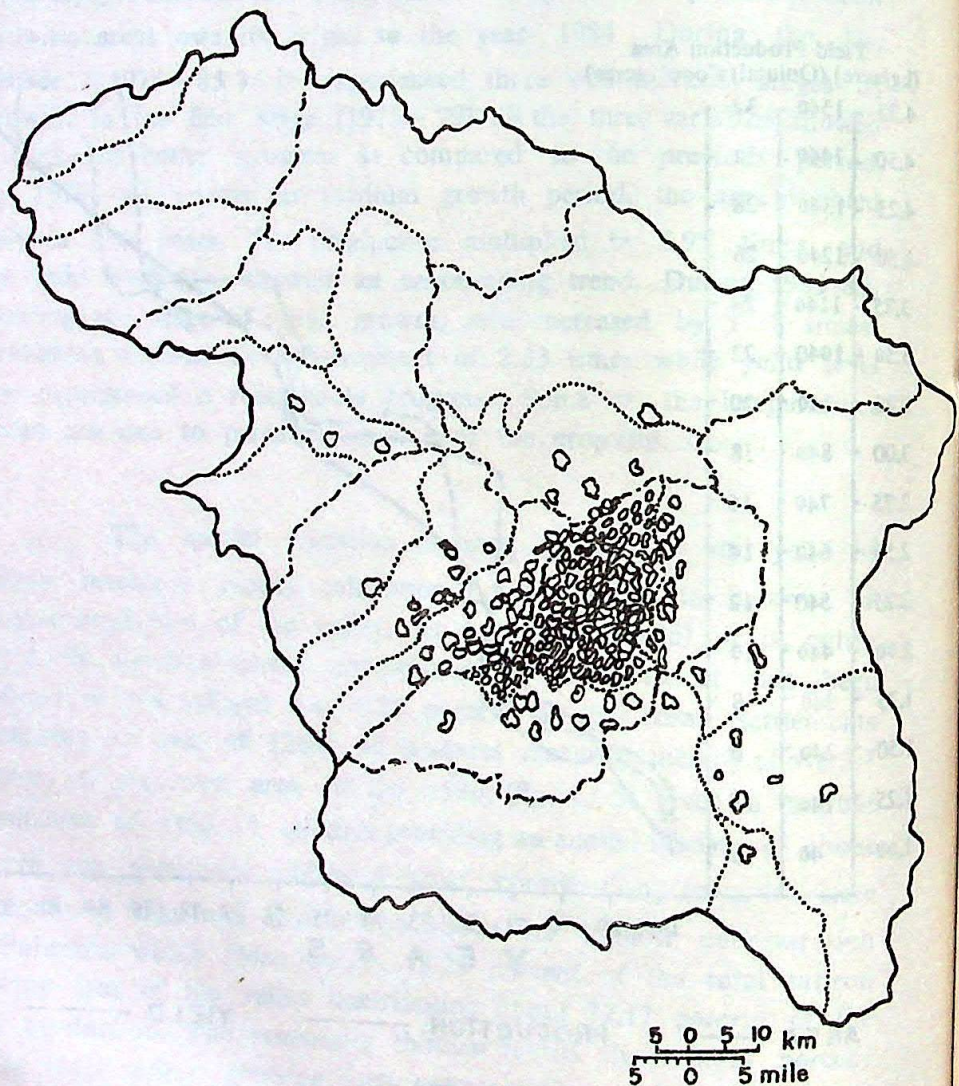


FIG. 3

KASHMIR VALLEY
LOCATION OF SAFFRON GROWING VILLAGES



5 0 5 10 km
5 0 5 mile

Fig. 4

TABLE III

Tehsilwise Area, Production & Yeld of Saffron

Tehsil	No. of Saffron grow- ing villages	Total area under saffron (Acres)	%Saffron gr- owing area to total village cropped area	Production (Quintals)	Yeld Kg/ Acre
Pulwama	105	23070.52	24.68	1054.49	4.57
Chadura	25	3726.67	15.48	193.42	5.19
Srinagar	8	1973.51	29.23	98.82	5.00
Tral	14	867.42	9.11	40.94	4.71
Shopian	10	613.79	8.45	27.81	4.53
Badgam	8	534.47	14.37	17.67	3.30
Anantnag	5	232.25	17.26	11.32	4.87
Kulgam	1	160.55	19.00	3.95	2.46
Baramulla	3	151.99	4.69	6.80	4.47
Bijbehara	1	137.02	13.00	4.21	3.07
Duru	1	17.84	8.00	0.25	1.45
Ganderbal	1	10.23	11.00	0.25	2.44
Beerwah	1	4.85	5.15	0.18	3.71
Pahalgam	1	1.10	1.00	0.02	1.81
Total/Average	184	31502.21	12.88	1460.14	3.68

The spatial pattern of saffron and its associated characteristics as evident from the table III lead to some of the observations. Firstly, Pomporé Karewa, the original saffron growing belt of the region, has played the role of centrifugal force; 2ndly, the diffusion of saffron has followed the principle of 'Distance Decay Model' and 3rdly, Pomporé Karwa is approaching a situation of 'Low yield with high spread' and the former being mainly due to the prevailing unplanned landuse system. (fig. 5)

Although the spatio-temporal study of saffron shows encouraging results, yet we are far from the desired goal which requires an accelerated speed. Kashmir valley has much potentials for the ideal growth of saffron and on the basis of existing environmental conditions it has been found that 56 percent of the total cropped area of the valley is quite conducive for saffron diffusion where as further 21 percent can be brought under such cultivation provided the technological know-how is available, and only remaining 23 percent of cropped area is unsuitable for saffron culture. But some of the socio-economic and techno-cultural factors play a negative role in the decision making process of farmers. Such growth retarding forces mainly are illiteracy, weaker economic base, absence of proper agricultural technology, lack of proper guidance and relevant information, biased marketing mechanism and above all the irrational landuse planning. In this context of developmental planning and landuse policies the role of research is supportive and indirect but the essential responsibility for moulding the climate of opinion lies with the extension service workers and the cooperation available from political leadership.

KASHMIR VALLEY TEHSILWISE DISTRIBUTION OF AREA AND PRODUCTION OF SAFFRON

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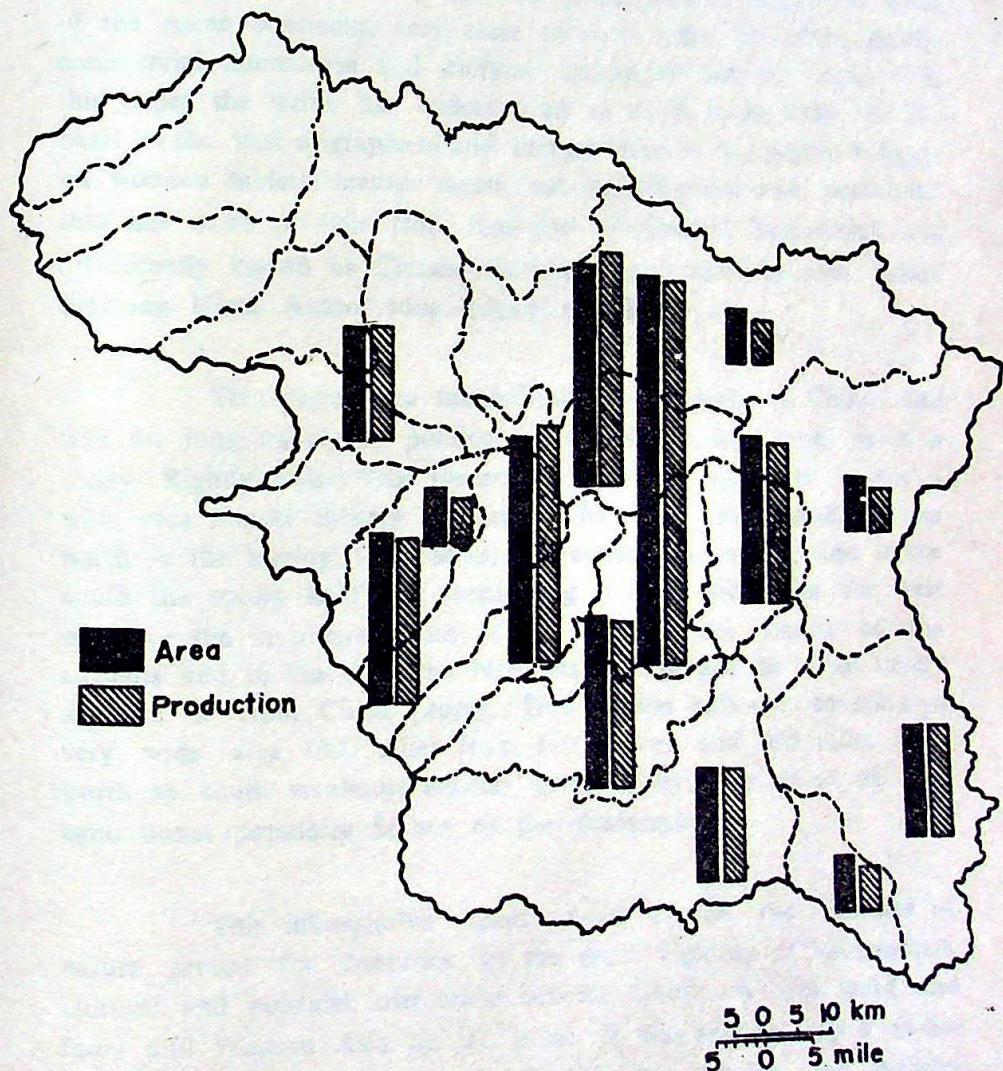


Fig. 5

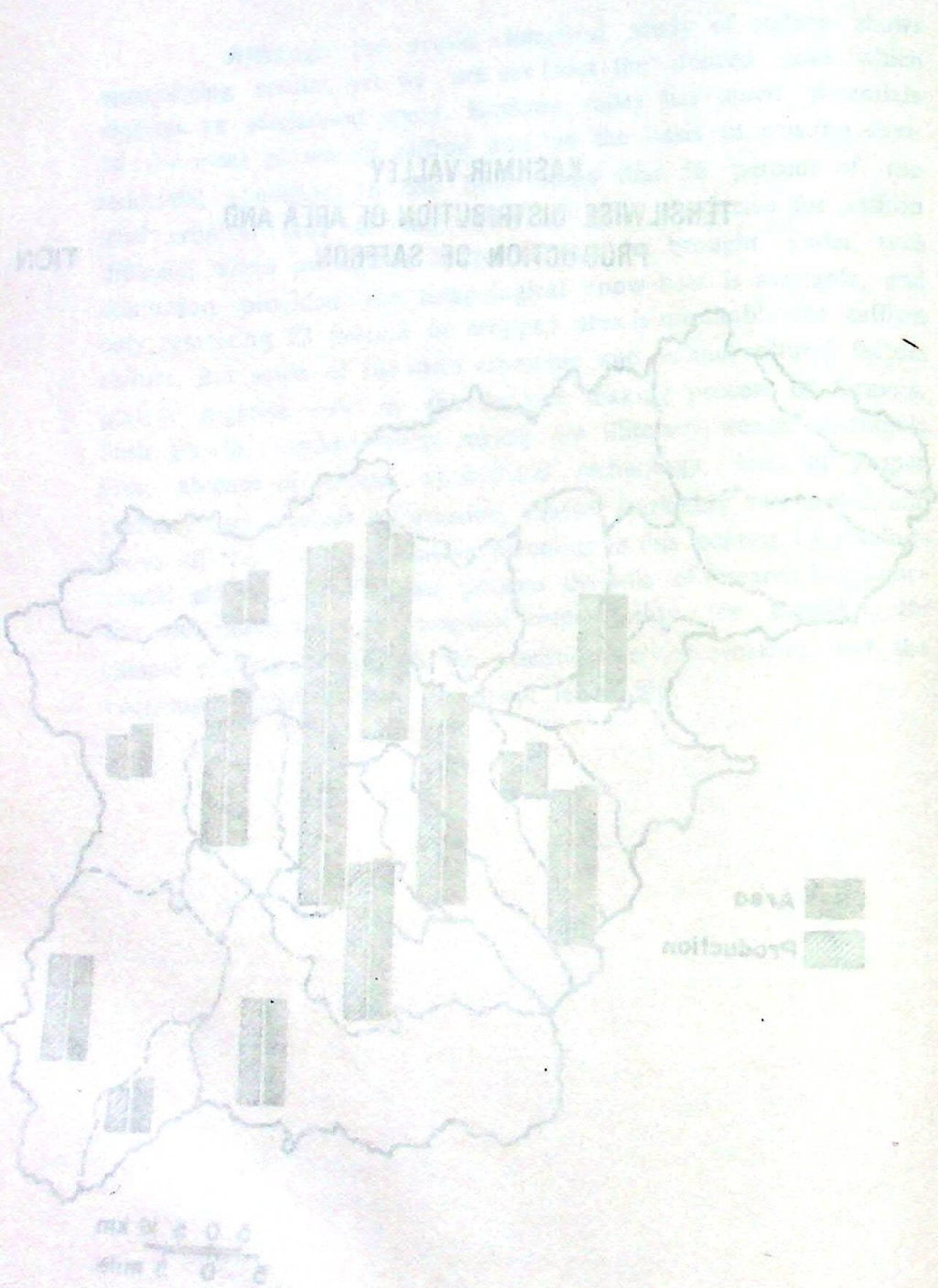


Fig. 2

ANCIENT KASHMIR AND SINKIANG

B. K. Kaul Deamb

The cultural relations between Kashmir and Central Asia date back to pre-historic times. Several attempts have been made to revive the memory of those unforgettable links which brought Kashmir and Central Asia, the two geographically contiguous areas of the Asian continent, very close to each other and promoted the commercial intercourse and cultural exchanges between them. In this paper the writer has endeavoured to trace these links on the basis of the vast epigraphical and literary material comprising writings on wooden tablets, leather sheets, silk scrolls, paper and birch bark that has come to light from that part of Central Asia which was till recently known as Chinese Turkistan and which is now called Sinkiang Uigur Autonomous Region of China.

This region lies immediately to the west of China and was for long under her political control in ancient times as it is today. Rightly called "the innermost heart of Asia," it covers a wide area almost entirely surrounded by high mountains. To the north is the mighty T'ien Shan, the celestial mountains, and to the south the snowy Kun Lun separating it from Tibet. On the west we have the mountain mass of the Pamirs, the Imoos of the ancients and to the east the Nan Shan range and the Gobi desert separate it from China proper. This region although covering a very wide area 1500 miles from east to west and 600 miles from north to south is almost entirely occupied by huge desert of bare sand dunes popularly known as the Taklamakan.

This inhospitable region devoid of all the beauties of nature served for centuries as the great highway of commercial, cultural and political intercourse between China on one hand and India and Western Asia on the other. It was subsequently a meeting place of the cross currents of different peoples and cultures,

such as Indian, Turk, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian etc., and of trades and conquests.

The two main routes one on the north and the other on the south connected Sinkiang also called the Tarim Basin because of its main river system the Tarim with the Oxus region in Western Turkistan (now called Soviet Central Asia) comprising the ancient Sogdiana and Bactria and occupied by Iranian people highly influenced by the culture of the Hellenistic world and that of India. The Southern route leading from Badakhsan up the valley of Wakhan and then crossing either by the Wakhjir pass or the passes in the north reached Sarigol and passing through the difficult mountain tracks led to the barren foothills of the Tarim Basin and thence to the oases of Kashgar and Yarkand. This route was followed in 644 A. D. by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Chuang on his return journey to China from India and in 1273 by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo in his journey to Cathay (China). The same course was followed by the Jesuit Benedict Goes in 1603 for his journey from India to China. The Northern route much more important for trade led from Balkh and passing along Qizil Su and the Pamir valley reached Kashgar. This was the route used according to Ptolemy by the traders in silk, the *seres* of China, down to the Oxus Basin and the city of Bactria. This is probably the route which is indicated in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Sir Aurel Stein also followed a greater part of this route during his exploratory tour of the region in 1915.

Three routes connected Sinkiang or the Tarim Basin with India. The route which started from Kabul in North Western India passed by Nagarahara (Jalalabad) and reached Bamiyan. From Bamiyan crossing the Hindukush it reached Balkh called *Vahlika* in ancient times. From Balkh or Bactriana two different roads led to the Tarim Basin. One passed northwards and proceeded through ancient Sogdiana (Samarkand and Bukhara). It then crossed the Syr Darya, passed by Tashkant and moving westwards through the passes of the Tien Shan it reached Turfan the north

western fringe or border of the Tarim Basin. The other which was shorter and more frequented by the Buddhist missionaries passed through the country of the Tokharians via Badakshan and Wakhan valleys and over the difficult passes of the Tarim Basin. From Kashgar two difficult routes, as said above, went up to the frontier of China, one along the southern fringe of the Tarim Basin and the other along the north.

Kashmir was connected with Sinkiang through several routes of which the two comparatively shorter were more important. The one across the Burzil pass started from Srinagar and passing through Bandipur, Gurais, Astor, Bhunji, Gilgit, Chitral and Yasin valleys in the Dard country reached Kashgar, and the other across the Karakoram starting from Leh reached Yarkand on way to Kashgar, via Nubra valley (482 miles), via Shiyok valley (515 miles) and via Chanchemo and Sajjin pass (577 miles). Leh was directly connected with Srinagar via Zojila pass.

Several important states and their capitals grew up along the northern and southern routes from Kashgar to China along the northern and southern fringes of the Taklamakan. Those along the southern route were : Shule or *Shailadesha* (Kashgar), So-Khiu or *Chokkuka* (Yarkand), Khotmana (Khotan) and also Niya, Dandan Ulik, Endere, Laulan, Rawak and Miran. Along the northern route the important states were Bharuka, Kuchi (modern Kucha), Yenki or *Agnidesha* (modern Qara Shahr) and Turfan. These states had distinctive contribution to make to the spread of Indian culture to Central Asia and China.

This region has aptly been called Ser India. Geographically it lay between India and China and the culture and civilization that grew up here was predominantly influenced by China on one hand and India on the other.

This part of Central Asia has been extensively explored and as a result of several exploratory expeditions and the assiduous

work of eminent Russian, German, British, Japanese French and Indian archaeologists, orientalist and Sinologists like P. Klementz, Petrosky, Littvinsky, Grun Wedel, A. Von Le Cog, A. Stein, Count Ofani, M. Paul Pelliot, Rev. F. Weber, R. Hoernle, Sylven Levi, Macartney, R. Sanskritanya, etc. pretty large number of inscriptions and manuscripts written in ancient Indian scripts of Brahmi and Kharoshti and in [the] Indian languages of Prakrit and Sanskrit have come to light from different habitable parts of the region like Khotan, Kucha, Turfan, Niya, Endere, Lau Lan, etc. The excavated archaeological material also includes ruined cities with hundreds of sanctuaries, images wall-paintings etc. The antiquities and the archaeological remains clearly show that Indians settled in large numbers in various localities all over this region and introduced their art, religion, language, script and system of political administration.

According to a very old tradition which was heard by Hsuan Chuang at Khotan and which is also preserved in the Tibetan literature, Khotan and the neighbouring oases were colonised by Indians from Gandhara (N. W. Pakistan) during the reign of king Ashoka in 3rd century B. C.¹ Whatever the genuineness of this tradition, the extent of the Indian cultural influence especially of ancient Gandhara and Kashmir in this part of Central Asia is amply illustrated by the vast wealth of epigraphical and archaeological material that has come to light here and a reference to which has been made above. Even ethnic features of the people of the region bore close resemblance with the people of Kashmir. Describing the ethnic features of the Khotanese Sir Aurel Stein remarks, "I may note here that I was frequently struck with the resemblance of features between the Khotanese and the Kashmiris, a resemblance difficult to define yet all the more noteworthy on account of unmistakable peculiarity of type presented by the Kashmiris"²

It is a well known fact that Kashmir played a vital role and made significant contribution to the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia. Most of the Buddhist missionaries who preached the Buddhist faith in Sinkiang either hailed from Kashmir or were

educated in Kashmir. It was known for a long time that side by side with the Pali Canon of Buddhism there was also a corresponding Sanskrit Canon produced in Kashmir. However, there was no trace of it in the Valley and in India and was only known from the Chinese and the Tibetan translations. The discovery of a large number of Buddhist texts in Sinkiang and Gilgit both in Sanskrit, Prakrit and the local languages, have provided substantial base for reconstructing the vast bulk of Buddhist literature that was produced in Kashmir and Gandhāra (N. W Pakistan).

Despite the predominance of the Buddhist religion in Sinkiang the Brahmanic faith was not altogether unknown. This is attested by the seals discovered from Niya containing the effigies of Kubera and Trimukha and by the painted image of Ganesa discovered at Endere³. The finds in the north include the painted images of the gods of the Saivite Pantheon⁴. It is not possible here to discuss the vast epigraphical and literary material that has been discovered in Sinkiang and has bearing on the intimate cultural relationship between this part of Central Asia and Gandhāra and Kashmir. We shall concentrate only on some inscriptions and manuscripts of outstanding importance and value.

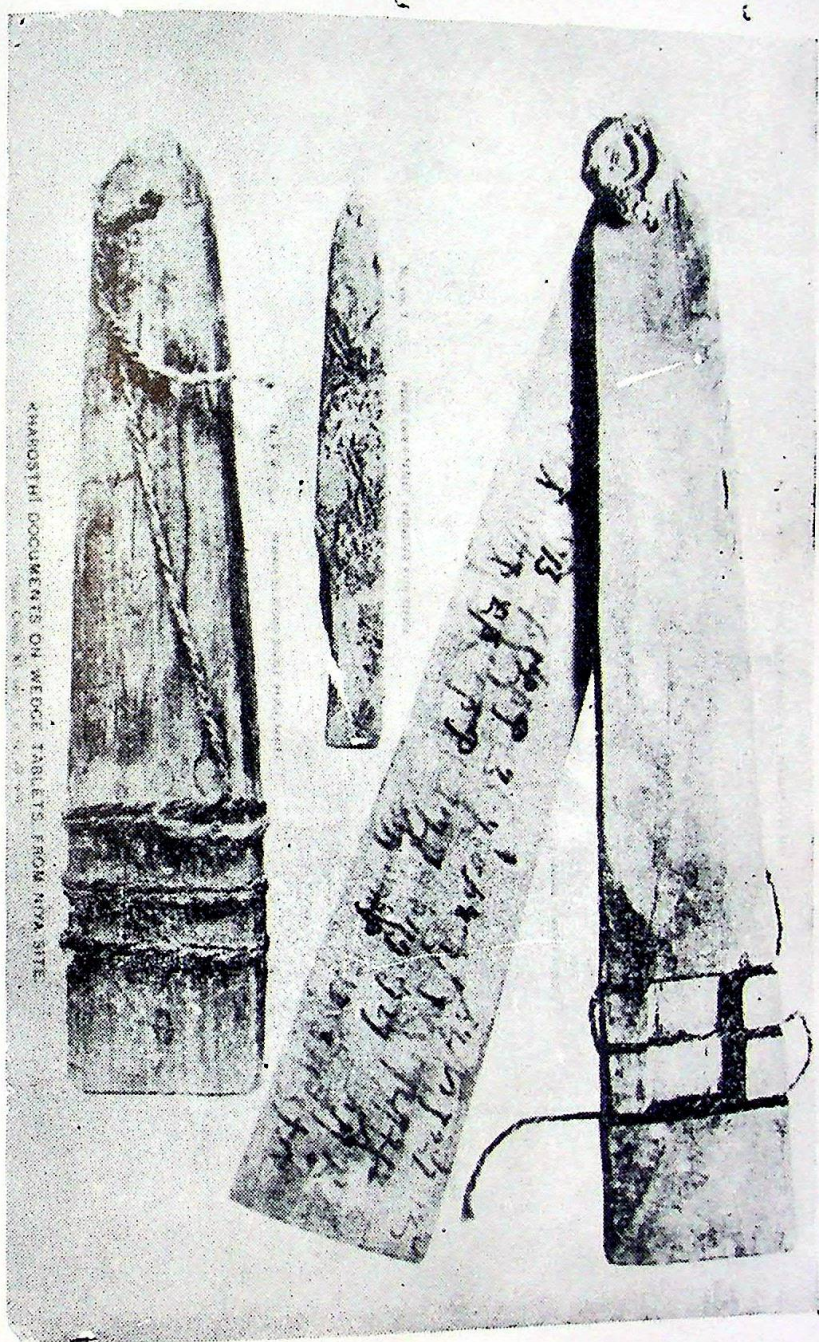
KHAROSHTI DOCUMENTS

Sinkiang was extensively explored by Sir Aurel Stein in three expeditions in 1881, 1908 and 1913 A. D. The results of his first expedition have been given in his *Ancient Khotan*, the scientific results of second expedition in his master piece *Ser India* and the details of his third expedition have been given in *'Innermost Asia'*. Among the numerous antiquities discovered, specially worthy of mention and important are the inscriptions written on wooden tablets, leather pieces and silk scrolls. Their chief interest lies in the fact that unlike bulk of inscriptions in India and Iran they are secular and profane in character and furnish overwhelming information regarding the contemporary day to day life of the people

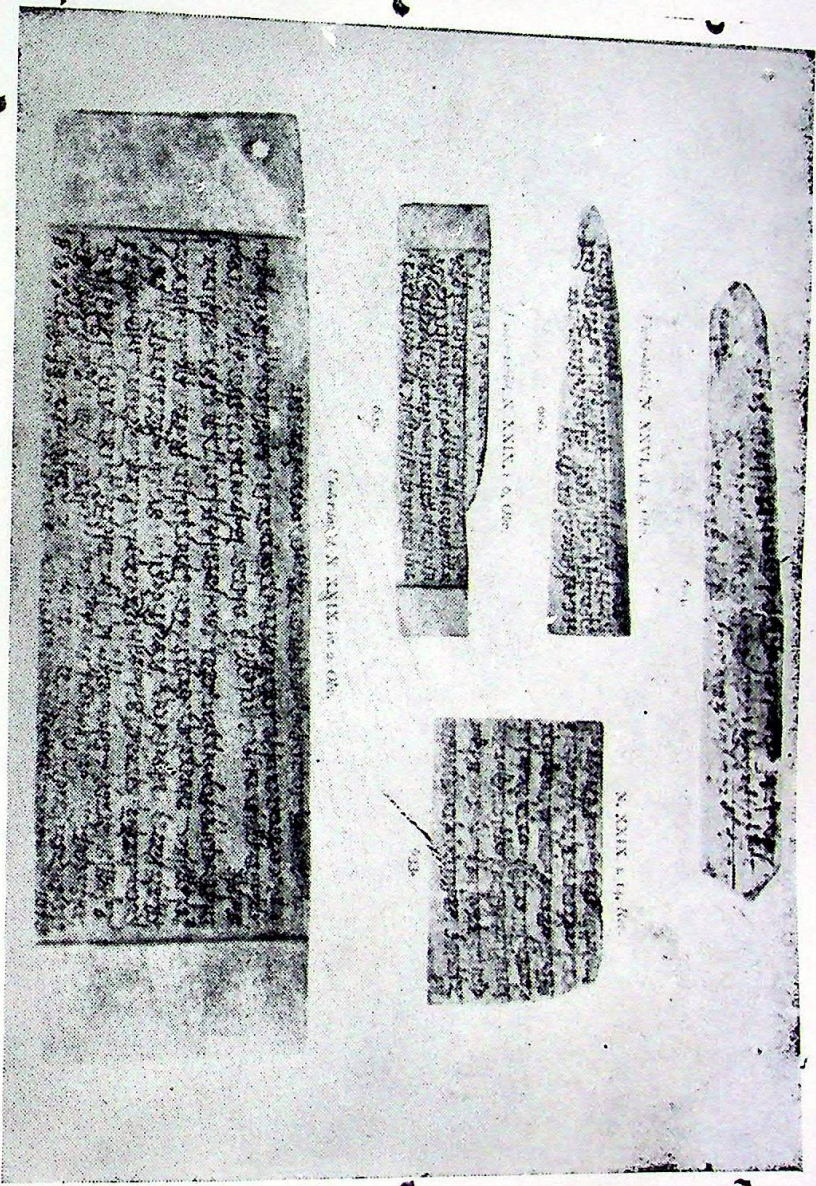
of the region. The greater number of these tablets are wedge shaped or rectangular, the rest being oblong, Takhti shaped or of various forms. The writing in many cases was in a state of amazing freshness when Stein first examined them which was due to the fact that the tablets remained interred for many centuries beneath the sand.

The wedge shaped and rectangular tablets were originally arranged in pairs. The writing was done on the obverse of the under tablet and the same was protected by the upper or the covering tablet which rested on it and served as a kind of envelope. The reverse of the under tablet was ordinarily left blank and the reverse of the upper tablet usually contained the names of the addressee and the sender. A hole was drilled through at one end of the paired tablets through which a string was passed. On the reverse of the upper tablet a socket was roughly cut for the reception of a clay seal. The string and the seal ensured the security of the documents especially of the legal ones from unauthorised tampering. The seals used for the authentication of the documents are of exceptional interest for they have furnished direct evidence of the influence of the Hellenistic and Indian art in distant Khotan. The writing on both the wooden and the leather documents was done with ink and wooden pen, a good number of which have been found.

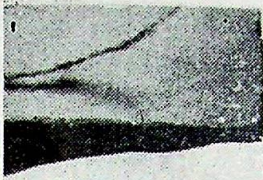
The wooden tablets contain short communications of an official character, such as, instructions to local officials by the king, or letter of official or personal nature issued by one official to another. We also find law suits, sale deeds, private communications, letters of condolences, letters of greetings and felicitations, list of provisions and artifacts of daily use, inventories etc. The documents on leather and paper are similar in character. A document on silk contains nine inscriptions containing a prayer for the health of an individual and his family.



KHAROSHTHI DOCUMENTS ON WEDGE TABLETS FROM NIVA SITE



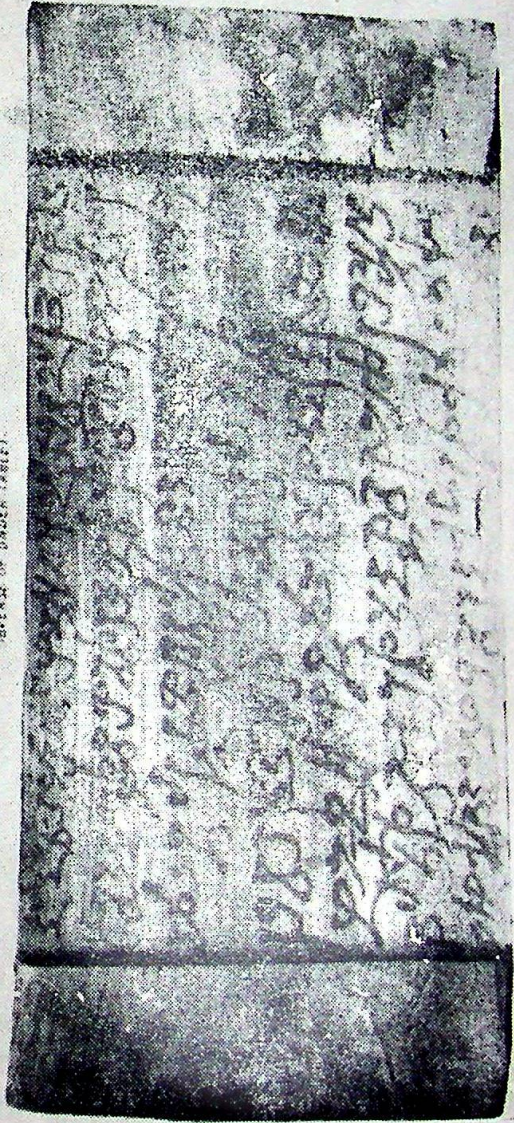
Kharijthi Inscription
Part II by Boyer
Senart Rapson
Plate. XI



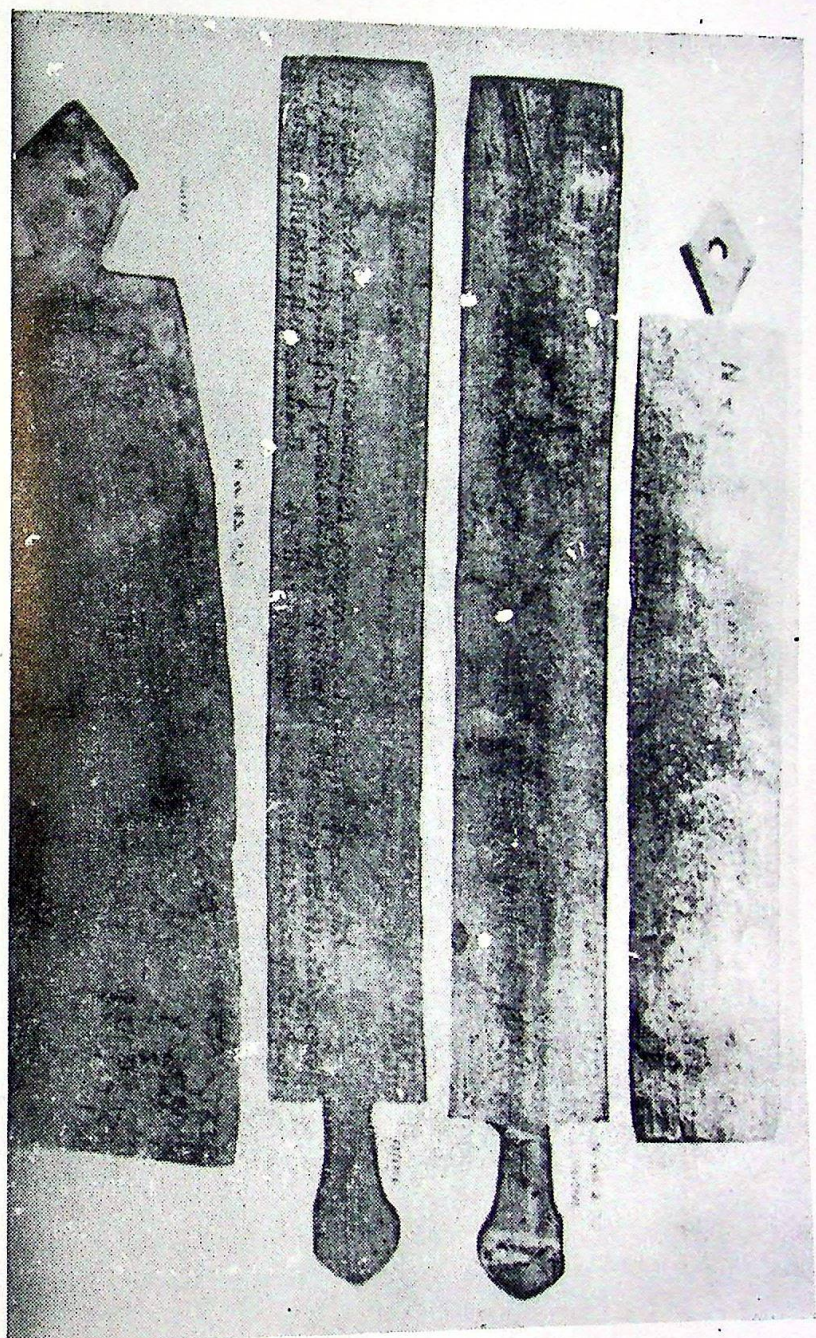
REVERSE OF
DOUBLE T.
UNOPENED, CC
KHAROSTHI / D
See Chap. XI



REVERSE OF UNDER TABLET.



KHAROSTHI DOCUMENT ON RECTANGULAR DOUBLE TABLET.
FROM N. XV. NIYA SITE.
See Chap. XI see p. viii.



Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a leather strip. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The script is dense and appears to be a form of historical or religious text. The leather strip is mounted on a larger, lighter-colored rectangular piece of paper or parchment. The edges of the leather strip are irregular and show signs of wear and tear.

KHAROSTHI DOCUMENTS ON LEATHER FROM BURJISH HEAP N. AN. NIVA SITE

LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT OF THE DOCUMENTS

By far the most important point concerning the documents is their language and the script. The inscriptions belonging to 3rd and 4th centuries A. D. are written in the local dialect and hence very difficult to comprehend and translate in full. The difficulty is partially removed because the language bears close affinity with the Prakrit spoken in the Gandhāra region including Kashmir.

The close cultural and political relationship between Gandhāra and Kashmir is too well known to need any detailed elucidation. It is not unlikely that the aforementioned Khotanese dialect had close affinity with the language spoken in Kashmir during the contemporary period of which unfortunately unlike that of Gandhāra no specimen is extant for study and comparison. It is, however, possible that close study of the Khotanese Prakrit may furnish the missing link between modern Kashmiri and the language of its origin. The former exhibits sufficient characteristics in common with the modern Dardic languages and the close relationship between Kashmiri and Dardic languages is well known. According to Stein who more than any other scholar Indian or European has made intensive and indepth study of Kashmir and its past, the Khotanese dialect may contain traces of the lost Paisāci Prakrit from which Kashmir is said to have been evolved⁵. It also betrays strong influence of Iranian and Tokharian discernible also in Kashmiri.

The script employed in the aforementioned documents is Kharoṣṭi the script par excellence of Gandhāra and Kabul and also popularly used in ancient Kashmir as is evidenced by a few extant Kharoṣṭi inscriptions of Kashmir and the exclusive use of the Kharoṣṭi numerical signs in the famous tiles of Harwan and the recently discovered tiles of Hutamar.

Both the language of the inscriptions and the script employed therein bear eloquent testimony to the close relations that existed between the people of Central Asia and of ancient Gandhāra and Kashmir. Sir Aurel Stein goes a step further and asserts, "The current use in Khotan of both a Prakrit dialect and of the Kharoṣṭī script becomes at once intelligible if we recognise a substratum of historical fact in the old local tradition heard by Huen Tsiang which asserted a partial occupation of Khotan by Indian emigrants from the region of ancient Taxila and Kashmir"⁶

As said above the Kharoṣṭī documents contain wealth of information regarding the every day life of the people of the region, their social and economic set up, eating habits, dresses, articles of daily use, mode of taxation, monetary system, law and legal institutions, administrative set up, religious practices etc. a critical and comprehensive account of which can be found in the author's forthcoming publication "Life of the People in Taklamakan Oases". Here we give a few glimpses of the social and religious life of the people of the region as gleaned from the documents which belong to the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D.,

SOCIAL LIFE

The records bear testimony to the well organised and developed society. Unlike the division of the contemporary Kashmiri Society into four traditional castes the Central Asian Society does not seem to have been based on any such rigid division. The society was on the other hand divided into four occupation groups (1) High ranking officials (2) Peasants (3) Artisans (4) Labourers and the Serfs..

The family consisted of parents and children both sons and daughters though we find mention of the grand parents, grand children and servants forming part of a family. The matrimonial

relations were not confined to cognate castes and gotras as in Kashmir but we do find evidence of legal ones contracted by kidnapping or elopement. Monogamy was the prevalent custom, and no where do we find evidence of polygamy or polyandry. In one of the records we learn that a potter though having his own wife and children accepted as wife the daughter of a monk and fled to Kucha with his new bride which would show that such marriages had no sanction of the society⁷.

The society being patriarchal the birth of a son in a family was hailed as an event of great joy and celebrations. One of the records containing a letter addressed to a family where a son was born we read *Putra jāta sarvehi sātena bhavitavya* you should be happy that the son is born⁸.

The son and the father exchanged presents on ceremonial occasions. One of the records mentions a son giving to his father a horse as a present and receiving in return two sheep and a *vansaga*. There are instances of notorious sons also. A record mentions a son who tied down the hands and feet of his father and beat him mercilessly⁹.

A daughter was considered a burden. She lived with her parents till marriage and later with her husband. As a girl she was a property of her father who could dispose her off like any other property. Thus a girl was sold for a one year old camel valued at 40 muli¹⁰. Another girl was sold for a camel valued at 30 muli and a Khotanese rug¹¹. In one of the records we read that a girl was sold at the time of famine in the reign period of king Angunvaka. The following sale deed was signed to this effect.

Concerning the woman Lyimisoae, to be kept by the scribe Ramnotsa.

"In the thirty second year, 12th month, 20th day of his majesty the great king Jituga Angunvaka, son. of heaven there

is a man called Pulnamto. He sold to the scribe Rannaotsa a girl Lyimsoal four *distis* high. The price given was one *amkaltsa* camel valued at thirty. Pulnamto received it and in addition an *atga muli* one Khotanese *kojwa* So they agreed. From now on Lamnotsa has ownership of the woman Lyimisoe to beat her, to bind her, to sell her, to exchange her, to pledge her, to do whatever he likes with her. This was written in front of the majistrates Witnesses are the Cozbo Kamciya, the Vasu Acuniya, Sothenga Khvaya, Whoever at a future time informs, disputes or disagrees about this, his bringing up again of the matter shall be without authority at the King's court. This was written by me the scribe Mogata at the command of the magistrates. Its authority is as long as life¹²". There was practice of adopting children. The girls were adopted very often and boys (a scarce commodity) less frequently. Adoption was legal only when milk fee (*kutha chira*) had been paid. The horses, mares, camels were the main objects paid as milk fee. Adopted girls were treated very sympathetically. The adopter could not sell such girls nor could they be mortgaged¹³.

MARRIAGES

There was no hard and fast rule about the marriage of girls with persons of same caste or profession. We find a monk giving his daughter to a monk in legal marriage. At the same time the daughter of another monk fixed her matrimonial relations with a householder

Marriage could be contracted even with near relations. In one of the documents we learn that a person named Sagapeya gave his daughter in marriage to Chinga. In return Chinga was ready to give his real sister to his father-in-law¹⁴. The responsibility of giving a daughter in marriage vested in the father. In exchange the father of the girl often expected some money, the term *Lote breid*

fee has been used in this connection, or animals from son-in-law. The custom of receiving bride fee was common in India and China. It is not clear if unmarried girls had any say in matters of their marriage.

RELIGION

The predominant form of religion was Buddhism. In a number of documents we find mention of Buddhist monks under the names of Bikkhus and Śramanas. The Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism and its predominant deities the Bodhisattvas are mentioned in a couple of documents. But the monks led a life not always the same as that of their counterparts in Kashmir and India. Very often they married and led a householder's life. They also engaged themselves in cattle rearing and agriculture and indulged in the sale and purchase of land, cattle, girls, and slaves and wore costly silken garments.¹⁵

However, attempts were made to enforce strictly the rule of conduct in a Buddhist Sangha. The monks violating the *Vinaya* rules were duly punished. The monks even though householders were expected to attend *Posatha* or *Upasatha* ceremony regularly and in proper dress. A monk appearing in householder's dress was fined one *thān* of silk cloth.¹⁶

Monks were also convicted for violating the law. For instance, a monk engaged a labourer and extracted work from him for a month without paying him the wages. The matter was referred to the court of law and the monk was arrested¹⁷. In another document a monk Semighapata married a girl without paying the bride price which was against the law. So he had to present himself before a court of law¹⁸.

In an interesting document we find the ancient practice of a sacrifice offered to God. "Lypeya pays respects and writes."

"My wife who was ill here is still alive through your favour. Also I have heard that there was a sacrifice of a cow at the bridge to the god Bhatro. I saw a dream that the sacrifice of a cow at the bridge was not accepted by the god. In Nanameiya-Opimta's cow enclosure there is a *Veto* cow. The Bhatro wants that cow to be sacrificed to him. The sacrifice is to be made and no slackness should be allowed in the matter"¹⁹. It is not clear who god Bhatro was. Burrow is inclined to take him Buddha himself but there is no evidence of the practice of any sacrifice having been offered to him anywhere in the Buddhist world. So God Bhatro was in all probability a local god.

To give you an idea of the language used in the Documents I give text of one of the Documents with its Sanskritised version and translation in English.

DOULBE-WEDGE TABLET²⁰

Covering tablet : Obverse

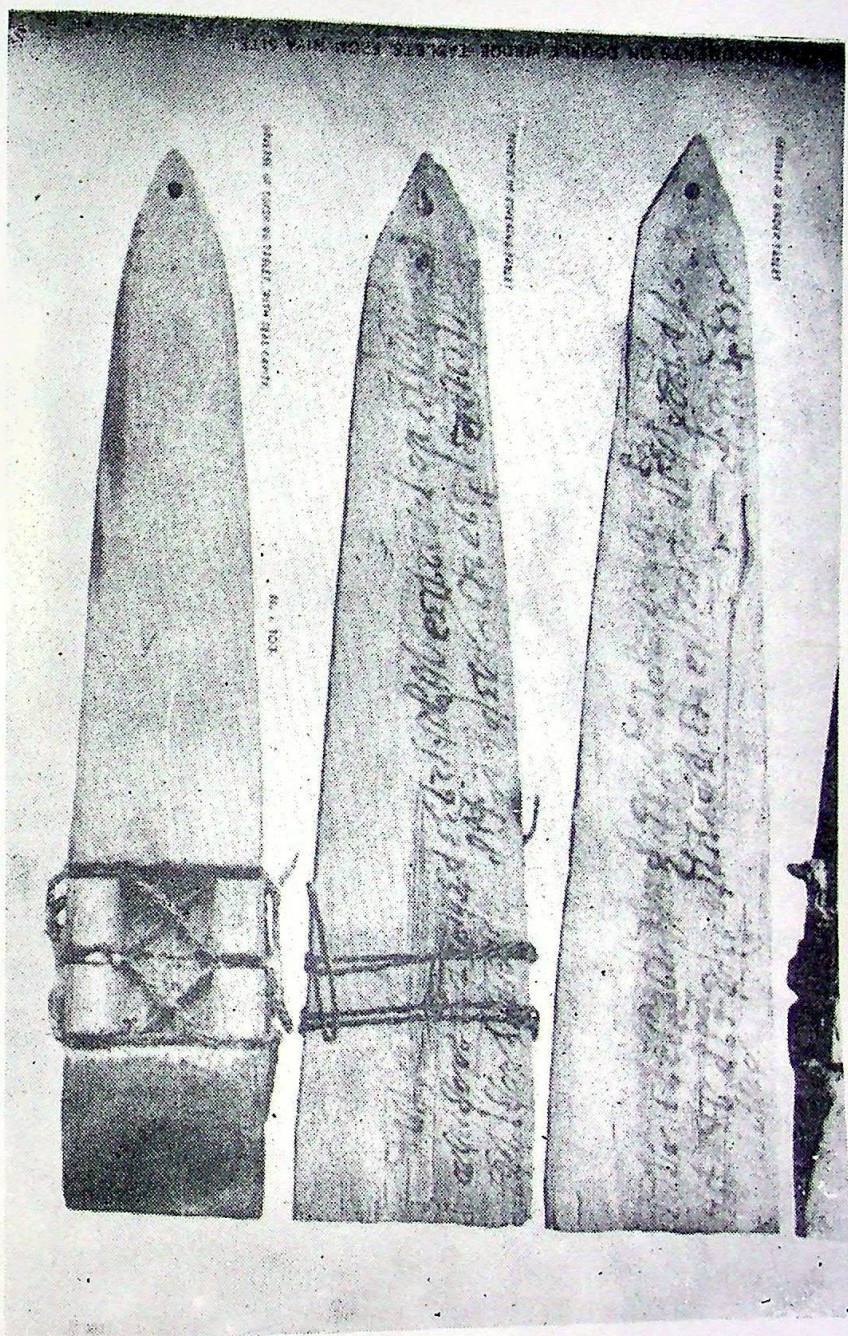
Cojhbo Yitaka Tonga-Vuktosa ca dadava

Under-tablet : Obverse

- 1) Mahanuava-Maharaya lihati Cojhbo- Yitaka Tongo Vuktosa ca mantra deti.
- 2) Sa ca ahono isa Vasu-lypeya vinaveti yatha edasa dajhi Cimikae dhitu Rutrayasa uniti gitae isa rya-dvarammi.
- 3) Kuttha-kiksarasa ti (va) isa aspa vyochimnidaga. Eda prace dviti triti vara kila-mudra gachati yava-ajaka-divasa nisce na karitu.
- 4) Yahi eda kilamudra atra esati pratha atra samuha anada-prochidavo yatha rayadvarami.

Covering - tablet : Reverse.

- 1) Vyochimnidaga siyati tena vidhanena atra vibhasi-tavya yati ana vivada kinci siyati atra yatha-dharmena nisce karttavo.



Atra na paribu-

- 2) jisātu hastagada rya-dvarammi visajidevo isēmi samuha nisce bhavisyati.

Under-talet : Reverse

Vasu-lyipe Rutrayena sadha.

TEXT SANSKRITISED

Cojhbo - Yitaka - Tongo- Vuktobhyām ca dātavyam. Mahānubhā-
vaḥ Mahārājah likhati, Cojhbo-yitak -Tongo- Vuktobhyām mantram
dadāti. Tat ca- " Adhunā asmin (sthāne) Vasu-lyipeyah Viñāpayati
yathā-etasya dāsyāḥ Cimikāyaḥ duhitā Rutrayasya unnitiḥ grhītikā
asmin rāja-dvāre kṛṣṭa-ksīrāya trivarsa-asvaḥ vyavachinnakaḥ. Etat-
pratyaye dvitīyam tṛtīyam vāram kīlamudrā gacchati yāvat adyaka-
-divasam yuvābhyām niscayah na krtah. Yādā etat-kīlamudrā atra
(tatra) eṣyati praśtḥam atra (tatra) sammukham ājñaptam praśtavyah.
Yātha rāja-dvāre vyavacchinnakah syāt tena vidhānena atra (tatra)
bibhāṣitvyam. Yadi anyah vivādah kascit syāt atra (tatra) yath-
ādharmena niscayah karttavyah. ▲tra (tatra) na paribodhisyate hasta-
gatam rājadvare visarjayitavyam.. Asmin (sthāne) sammukhaḥ niscayah
bhavisyati. Vasu-lyipeya Rutrayena sardham.

TRANSLATION

To be given (handed over) to Cojhbo Yitaka and Tongo
Vukhta. His majesty the king writes. He instructs Cojhbo Yitaka and
Tonga Vukta. Here Vasu-lyipeya makes a complaint that the daughter
of his maid servant Cimikā was adopted by Rutraya. Here at the
Royal court it was decided that three year old horse would be
given as milkpayment by Rutraya to Cimikā. About this matter for
the second and third time a sealed wedge tablet has gone there and
uptill now no decision has been made by you. When this wedge

tablet reaches you, you should decide the case as per the decision taken at the royal court. In case there is any dispute you should decide it according to law. Should you not be able to take any decision you should send back the case and same would be decided at the royal court.

Vasu-lyipeya versus Rutraya

MANUSCRIPTS

Besides the Kharoshti another popular script of ancient Sinkiang was the Indian script of Brāhmi which in course of time developed several varieties in the region. Pretty large number of manuscripts, in fragments and complete, have been discovered from this part of Central Asia. It is not possible to discuss all these manuscripts but an account is given below of the manuscripts of the Buddhist texts which are specially important from the point of view of Kashmir and Gandhāra as they belong to the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism, the school as indicated elsewhere in this book, par excellence of Kashmir and Gandhāra.

THE SANSKRIT UDĀNAVARGA

Udānavarga means a collection of Udānas or utterances of the Buddha. The work has the same place in the Sarvastivāda school of Buddhism as Pali Dhammapada in that of the Theravāda school now prevalent in Sri Lanka and Burma. Several versions of the text mostly in fragments were found by the German mission, Sir Aurel Stein, and Prof M. Pelliot and the same are now preserved in the Berlin Museum, India Office Library and the National Library of Paris. The work written in Sanskrit with a blend of Prakritisms as is usually found in Sanskrit Buddhist texts of the region, is divided into 33 chapters each bearing a separate title as we find in the Dhammapada. It begins with Anityavarga and ends with Brahmanavarga. All the verses occurring in the

Dhammapada and the Udāna of the Pali canon are found in this work. The author of the work is Dharmatrāta whose identity has not yet been established. Some consider him the famous teacher of the Sarvāstivāda school of this name, the maternal uncle of Vasumitra the celebrated president of the Buddhist Council convened by Kaniska while others like Tarānātha consider him different from this Dharmatrāta.

The work was very popular in Northern Asia as is indicated by the pretty large number of translations of the work made from the original Sanskrit into Tibetan, Chinese and in the Central Asian languages.

The Bhiksuni *Pratimokṣa* and the Bhikṣu *Pratimokṣa* of the Sarvāstivādins contain respectively the rules of conduct for the nuns and the monks and correspond to the Pāṭimokkha works of the Pali canon. The former was brought to Berlin by the Prussian Expedition and has been edited by E. Waldschmidt in *Bruchstücke des Bhiksuni Pratimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins* Leipzig 1936. The two manuscripts of the latter work were discovered by Pelliot mission in Kucha and have been published by M. Phinot in the *Journal Asiatique* (1913 pp. 469 f.) A portion of the text is also contained in the Stein collection and the same has been published by Prof. De le Nalu Poussin in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1913. pp. 84 ff.

THE BOWER MANUSCRIPTS

Besides Indian religion, language and literature immigrants from Gandhāra and Kashmir to Central Asia also carried the knowledge of Indian medicine and a large number of medical texts in Sanskrit which were used in Central Asia from 4th to about the 8th century A. D., have been discovered from the ancient sites.

The study of the medical science *Cikisāvidyā* formed an important subject of study of the Buddhist monks, for sound health was regarded *sine qua non* for obtaining higher knowledge. Explaining why *Cikisāvidyā* or medical science was a part of the compulsory course of education for the Buddhist monks and the laity, It-sing remarks, "Is it not a sad thing that sickness prevents the pursuit of ones duty and vocation? Is it not beneficial if people can benefit others as well as themselves (by the study of medicine)?"²¹ The Buddhist texts throw ample light on the study and practice of medicine and surgery in ancient India. Jivaka, who attended on lord Budha and was the court physician of king Bimbāsara of Magadha is a celebrated name in the medical history of ancient India, He specialised both in medicine and surgery and his miraculous treatments and surgical operations, as, e.g., of the skull of a rich merchant at Rajagraha to cure him of head ailment; of entangled intestines of a merchant's son to disentangle the twisted intestines and put them back in their right position, would excite wonder and amusement even to-day²². The celebrated Buddhist text *Milinda Pannha* which contains a conversation between the Indo Greek King Menander (Milinda) and Buddhist logician Nāgasena, the conversation believed by some to have taken place in the immediate vicinity of Kashmir, furnishes information about the medical studies in India in the 1st century B. C. and gives a long list of renowned physicians and surgeons of yore. The accounts of the Chinese pilgrims are also full of information on the subject.

The study of medicine must have been cultivated on a fairly large scale in ancient Kashmir as well. Alberuni praises Kashmir for its "high schools of Hindu Sciences,"²³ which evidently included medical sciences as well. The famous treatise on medicine composed by Caraka called the *Caraka Samhitā* is believed by some to have been composed in Kashmir. The original of the text is lost and the version now available is that made by Drḍabala of Kashmir who lived in 9th century. Drḍabala himself admits of

Handwritten text in a script, likely Kashmiri, on a fragment of parchment or paper. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is irregularly shaped and shows signs of wear and damage.

Handwritten text in a script, likely Kashmiri, on a fragment of parchment or paper. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The fragment is irregularly shaped and shows signs of wear and damage.

having added certain chapters to the Caraka's work, The text became so popular that it was one of the few Sanskrit works which were first translated into Persian and Arabic. The *Carakasamhitā* was commented upon by one Jajjata who also belonged to Kashmir. Another important medical treatise written by Susruta called *Susruta Samhitā* was equally popular in Kashmir as is indicated by the famous commentary of it written by another Kashmiri scholar Udbhatta. A Sanskrit translation of the famous work on medicine 'Qanun' written by the celebrated physician and scholar of Central Asia Ibn Senna (Avicenna) was also made by a Kashmiri and a portion of the same is preserved in the Sanskrit Manuscripts Library of the Research and Publications Department. The same library contains large number of manuscripts on medicine which await editing and publication.

Among a large number of Indian medical texts, discovered in Central Asia specially worthy to note are the three medical texts written on birch bark and the Indian Brāhmī script of 5th century A.D.

They were discovered by Col. Bower from an old stupa near Kucha and are named after him as Bower Manuscripts now preserved in the famous Bodlian Library of Oxford. The manuscripts are of great importance so far as the history of medicine is concerned. These contain the excerpts of the lost works of great authorities on Indian medicine known only by name. They are the earliest known manuscripts on birch bark and might have originated from Kashmir which as seen above was known for the studies in medical sciences

One of the texts deals with garlic and its medical properties. It removes three humours, viz. Vata (airy humour), Kapha (phlegmatic humour) and Pitta (peleous humour) It cures skin diseases, loss of appetite, cough, leanness, white leprosy, weak digestion abdominal pains, enlargement of spleen etc. Regular intake of garlic gives one a voice sweet like that of flute, complexion clean as molten fine gold; makes one strong in memory and mind and

ensures one a life of hundred years with a well knit body free from all wrinkles, and inexhaustible virility.

The second text contains the medical formulae for external and internal use. The third text which is the largest is titled *Navanitaka* 'cream' and contains an abstract of the earlier medical literature. It deals with the preparation of powders, decoctions, oils, elixirs, lotions, precipes for good memory, precipes for barren women wanting children and guidelines for nursing of children. The earlier authorities quoted in the text include Agniveśa, Bhela, Hārīta, Jātukarna, Kṣārapāṇi, Parāśara and Susruta. It also contains an account of Jivaka mentioned above.

The brief account given above would show how the desert sands of Taklamakan have preserved in their bosom the valuable treasures long lost to Kashmir and other parts of India. Besides the important Buddhist Sanskrit texts, fragments of manuscripts of stotras belonging to other Indian religions, fables, Sanskrit grammatical texts, lexicons, medical texts etc., have been discovered which however, have not yet been identified and their relation with Kashmir remains to be established.

Before we wind up this brief study it would be worthwhile to quote an excerpt from a bilingual - conversational primer the compilation of which was necessitated by the intercourse between India particularly Kashmir and Central Asian kingdoms. The text written in Sanskrit heavily influenced by the local vernacular and the Khotanese, and discovered from Khotan contains a conversation between an Indian probably Kashmiri Bhikṣu and a man of Kan-chou. We quote from the Sanskrit text only as it clearly sets forth how the bilingual need was being fulfilled.

Sambana svasti Kusalaśariri

Ttava prrasadaina kusala

Ttava sambana asti

Kasmin sthane agatta

Gaustana desa - agatta

Hiduka - desa ki kale agatta

Sambatsara - dvaya babuva

Gamstana-desai-kutra sthanai ttaistatta

Sagaramai ttaistatta.

Kasmi Sagaramai

Rajsa Sambana drrsista

Sambana drraista

idani kutra *gatsasi*

China daise *gatsami*

Are you well or not, at ease?

By your favour I am well

Is it well with you are not?

Whence have you come?

I have come from Khotan.

When did you come from India?

Two years ago.

Where did you stay in Khotan?

I stayed in a Sanghārāma (monastery)

In which sanghārāma did you stay?

Did you duly see the king or not?

I duly saw him.

Now where are you going.

I am going to China.

The italicised expressions in the above conversation, *gatsasi* for Skt. *gacchasi* and *gatsami* for Skt. *gacchāmi* are strong pointers to the monk having hailed from Kashmir. Sanskrit *cha* was pronounced as *tsa* only in Khotan and Kashmir (as it is pronounced even now).

NOTES & REFERENCES

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2. *Op. cit.*, p. 165, also cf Joyce, *Journal of the Anthropoeological Institute* xxxiii p. 317 f.
3. *Ibid* p. 442, Pl. L. xxviii
4. *Ibid* 298-99, 300
5. Burrow T. *Language of the Kharoshti Documents from Chinese Turkistan*, p 2.
6. Stein *op. cit* p. 163.
7. Rapson, *Kharosthti Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkistan*, Parts I - III, 1927, 1930, Document No. 621.
8. Document No. 702.
9. *Ibid* Document No. 339, *Ana edasa pitu Kunageyasa hast padami nona.*
10. Document No. 589
11. Doc. No. 592
12. *Ibid*
13. Doc. No. 331
14. Doc. No. 32
15. Doc. 418, 419, 437. 474 etc.
16. Doc. No. 489
17. Doc. No. 386
18. Doc. No. 474
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21. I-Tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, Translation J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, p. 130
22. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, III 2, pp 1-52, Majumdar R.C. (Ed) *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 588.
23. Albiruni,, *Tahqiq-i-Hind*, Translation Sachau, Vol. I, p. 173.
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ORIENTAL RESEARCH IN KASHMIR

REYAZ RUFAI

The term "Oriental Studies" or "Oriental Research" by popular conception concerns "with philology which entails the study of a language written in an exotic non Roman script, and its literature in its classical phase rather than in modern"¹ The study till recently was confined to the languages and literatures of Asia, and religion, law, arts, history of the people, culture and science of different parts of Asia was not studied by the orientalists. We are indeed indebted to European scholars who not only brought the term oriental studies into prominence but also used critical and comparative methods of inquiry for its study. In 1784, Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded as a result of efforts made by Sir William Jones a Sanskrit scholar of the west. Just within five years the Society started publication of translations of various epics and ancient works of India. These publications became popular and resulted in the creation of some other institutions which conducted oriental research. Some of them attained world wide importance like Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan Bombay, Bandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Khuda Baksh Library and Oriental Research Institute, Patna etc.

Kashmir has not only been known as a paradise on earth but also as "a seat of learning" (*Shārdā Pīṭha*). As early as in 1904 Prof. Dharandranath Pal was of the opinion that a particular area in Asia which covers Kashmir and Tibet was the cradle of human race. Even the great oriental scholar Prof. Adelung, the father of comparative philology, placed the cradle of mankind in the valley of Kashmir. This area is supposed to be the original centre of human culture. Its geographical position shows that it is in the centre of the globe and so just in the midst of civilized nations. Kashmir undoubtedly has been the fountain head of art and culture in the east which attracted the scholars from Central Asia and other

parts of the world since the ancient times. In India during 18th and 19th centuries the oriental studies had gained much filip, and a seat of learning like Kashmir could not but come under its influence. Due to the distinct cultural heritage of Kashmir, a new term "Kashmiriology" was coined "which implied the study of myth and legend, custom and tradition, religion and philosophy, language and literature, art and archaeology and socio-economic as well as political developments of Kashmir"² in the light of its great traditions. Some significant steps were taken with regard to the development of Oriental Research and a number of governmental as well as public institutions were established to conduct the Oriental Research of Kashmir at different levels. In this paper an attempt has been made to state the role of different such institutions of Kashmir and suggest some measures so that the working of existing oriental institutions of Kashmir is improved and streamlined.

Jammu and Kashmir Research and Publication Department.

Although the Department was founded in April 1902, its inception dates back to 1857 when Maharaja Ranbir Singh inspired by foundation of various Oriental Research Institutes in India founded a Library of Sanskrit in the State. It started with a small collection but gradually widened its activities and in course of time grew into a full fledged store house of Sanskrit literature. The Sanskrit collection was so rich that Dr. Grierson and Sir Aurel Stein were greatly impressed. It was this library which in 1902 was changed into Kashmir Research Department. The Department was created with the objective of studying the ancient history, literature, arts and sciences of the State.

In order to fulfil its aims and objectives the Department worked under definite plan from 1902 and acquired the manuscripts from different areas, Sir Aurel Stein started preparation of catalogue

of Sanskrit manuscripts. Two libraries one each at Jammu now known as Ranbir Library and Srinagar now known as Research Library were established. Sir Aurel Stein compiled the catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts and the same was published in 1894. The Department started its publication programme and published some outstanding books²

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was a great lover of Islamic literature too. Besides collecting different manuscripts in Sanskrit, he issued orders to copy some of the valuable Persian and Arabic manuscripts available in different parts of the subcontinent. Some famous calligraphers were engaged and in due course of time a good number of manuscripts was collected and named as "Ranbir Collection". After independence the collection was transferred to R. S. Library, Jammu but it was felt that these manuscripts would not be so useful at Jammu and at the request of the then Librarian Lalla Ishar Dass they were transferred to Research Department, Srinagar. In 1952 Prof. Hassan Shah headed this Department. He had interest in Oriental Research and in the first instance started the work of preparation of descriptive catalogue of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit manuscripts and obtained the services of some professors from Education Department for the purpose. Later on Prof. P. N. Pushp took over the charge of the Department and accelerated this work. The job was completed by March 1970⁴.

The Department also started its journal entitled "Research Bi-annual" in 1960 under the editorship of Prof. P. N. Pushp which intended to offer peeps into various facets of research undertaken by the Department besides publishing some manuscripts in parts.⁵

Research scholars of the state had lot of expectations from this Department but unfortunately the state government has not devoted attention for the development of this Department.

The need of the hour is to reorganize the Department, provide it full financial support and to chalk out short term and long term programmes of research and publications.

J & K Academy of Art, Culture and Languages

In order to foster and coordinate activities in the spheres of letters and languages, visual and plastic arts, music, dance and culture in the state of J & K and to promote through them the cultural unity of the State, the Cultural Academy was established as per the provisions of J & K constitution in July 1958. Although this institution was primarily established to work in the fields of art, languages and literature of the State it has contributed a lot towards oriental studies of J&K. The culture, arts, languages and literature form a part of oriental research in modern times. The aims and objectives of the Academy among other things are :

- a) to publish and promote and assist publication of literatures.
- b) to edit and publish rare and old manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

In spite of its diverse functioning and limited finances, the Academy has certainly done its best towards the promotion of oriental studies and research. The preparation and publication of Kashmiri Dictionary was a first step in this direction. Since last decade or so, the Academy is working under a definite plan to promote the oriental research and undoubtedly the basis of such research largely depends upon the availability of source material. The Academy has, as such, established a good reference library and has procured good number of rare manuscripts. The Academy has launched the project of compilation of *Encyclopaedia Kashmiriana* and first volume of this giant work was published in 1986. The Academy has also documented the ancient and medieval architecture, calligraphy, cultural and anthropological aspects of Kashmir in the shape of photographs, films, video recording, publications etc. Two albums on calligraphy and architecture, and a collection of medieval paintings has also been published by the Academy.

But the Academy need to give more stress on oriental research in view of the fact that the Department of Research and Publications, J & K Govt. is not working effectively. The Academy has some unique manuscripts in its collection and these need to be published after proper editing. Further the Academy has not published any bibliography which as per clause (v) (a) (1) of its constitution is its one of the functions. The Academy may prepare the bibliography of all the manuscripts on Kashmir available in different libraries in India and private collections. Besides, preparation of a glossary on Sufism, Shaivism, Kashmir architecture etc. are some of the fields towards which the Academy need to pay more attention.

The Sharada Peetha Research Centre

Dr R. K. Kaw, one of the scholars of the Valley was very keen to establish a research institute on the pattern of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, and requested the management of Gandhi Memorial College, Srinagar to undertake the job. But due to financial constraints they could not accept this suggestion. He therefore took the initiative towards establishment of a public research institute of his own. The institute namely. The Sharada Peetha Research Centre was formally inaugurated in the general meeting of Kashmir Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan on 26th of Jan. 1959 with the following aims and objectives.

- 1) "to promote oriental learning in the State on modern lines.
- 2) to carry on historical and antiquarian studies on western lines.
- 3) to arrange periodical meetings of scholars and research workers for lectures, reading of papers and discussions on topics of Indological research.

- 4) to publish a research series in the form of periodicals containing articles and research works produced by various scholars
- 5) to explore exchange of eastern and western cultures especially Hindu and Muslim thoughts in Kashmir.⁶

The Centre started with some group discussions followed by some good seminars and lectures. It also established a good library on Indology where scholars could consult the source material. The Centre in pursuance of its aims and objective started its own journal titled "Sharada Peetha Research Series" and its first issue was released in Jan 1959. The journal contained some thought provoking articles on Kashmir Shaivism and mysticism. Although the journal mostly contained articles by its founder Dr. Kaw it can be looked upon as one of the landmarks in the history of oriental research in Kashmir. In 1964, the Centre started post graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit where besides conducting M. A (Sanskrit) classes facilities for Ph. D studies in Indology were also provided. In 1971, the Centre established Sharada Peetha International Board of missionary spirit to propagate and disseminate the great culture and learning of Kashmir.

The high ambitions of the Centre could not be fulfilled due to lack of sufficient financial resources and the State Govt. also did little to encourage such institutions. However, inspite of its limited resources the Centre has done some remarkable work in oriental research by way of publications and organisation of some seminars and lectures.

The Jammu and Kashmir Oriental Research Society

Immediately after the establishment of Sharda Peetha Research Centre, another Society for the encouragement and development of oriental research was founded in June 1959. The Society was known as "The Jammu and Kashmir Oriental Research Society". The aims and objectives of the Society were :-

- 1) To organise, foster and to conduct the research into Kashmir's contribution to the thought through ages particularly in reference to Kashmir Shaivism and Sufism.
- 2) To rediscover for the present generation that rich heritage of humanism and universal brotherhood which seems to have been lost to general view owing to the vicissitudes of history.
- 3) To bring out a periodical containing the research papers on Jammu and Kashmir.

The aims and objectives of the Society were the same as those of Sharada Peetha but with a difference in emphasis. Sharada Peetha laid stress on Indological research, while the Research Society laid much emphasis on Kashmiriology as a branch of Indology. But in spite of sound finances, the Society could not make any impact and could not do any significant work. They just arranged some lectures, meetings and group discussions and that too very rarely.

University of Kashmir

The University of Jammu and Kashmir was founded in 1948, a year after independence of the country. In September 1969, the university was bifurcated and two Universities one each for Kashmir and Jammu provinces were established. The Kashmir University besides its other aims and objectives has to "provide for instructions in such branches of learning as University may think fit and to make provision for research and for advancement and dissemination of knowledge. Some teaching departments like Persian, Urdu and Hindi were established in the University during its early days which mainly devoted their attention towards teaching in post-graduate classes and very little attention was paid towards research and development. Till recently the Oriental Language Departments had no research facilities, but during last one and a half decade the University gave impetus towards the oriental research. Establish-

ment of the post graduate Departments of Arabic, Sanskrit and Kashmiri with research facilities were mile stones in this regard. Besides teaching and guiding the research scholars these departments brought out some publications and journals which contained substantial material on Oriental Research. In 1979 the University established the Centre for Central Asian Studies to undertake and sponsor higher studies and research pertaining to religious, social, cultural, archaeological, geographical, economic, scientific and technical aspects of the Central Asian region which was the meeting ground of many cultures and played significant role in the cultural evolution of Kashmir. Subsequently the University Grants Commission recognised it as one of its Area study centres and provided adequate grants. Although the Centre undertakes the inter-disciplinary research on Central Asia due emphasis is also given on the oriental research studies. Students have been encouraged to work on Persian/Sanskrit manuscripts of Kashmir and render their English translations. The Centre has brought out some important works relating to Kashmir some of them include "Corpus of Sharada Inscriptions of Kashmir. "Kashmir Shawl" "Historical Geography of Kashmir" etc.

Some other departments of Kashmir University have also contributed towards the oriental research of Kashmir. The post-graduate Departments of Persian, Urdu, History, Kashmiri and Sanskrit have enrolled the students to work on different aspects of Kashmir.

The Kashmir Council of Research

In 1975, some scholars and students of Oriental studies established "Kashmir Council of Research" which was to work on Oriental Research with the financial support of Indian Council for Historical Research, Department of Culture, Govt. of India and other agencies of State and Central Govts. The Council was declared as non political academic body devoted to research and enquiry in arts, humanities and sciences of India with particular reference to J & K State. It intended to serve as a forum for discussion and deliberations on matters of common interest and to initiate and

coordinate research studies, and thus had to fulfil the following aims and objectives:-

- 1) to organise lectures, seminars and symposia
- 2) to establish and maintain liaison with national and international organizations for the promotion of research.

The Council organized a number of national and local seminars on different aspects of Oriental culture and history of Kashmir. A Journal entitled "Studies of the Kashmir Council of Research" was started by the Council in 1976 which contained sufficient material on history and culture of medieval and ancient Kashmir. But like other organizations, the Council could not function properly after 1985 and the office bearers perhaps lost zest, zeal, and enthusiasm for reasons best known to them.

Conclusion and Suggestions

Different Oriental Research Institutions of Kashmir work on similar programmes resulting in duplication of work, wastage of finances, and human resources. Present age is age of cooperation and resource sharing in the field of information, technology and research. Efforts are being made at global, regional and local levels to avoid duplication of research, to ensure cooperation and proper use of men and material especially in dissemination of scientific and technical information. It is ripe time now to avoid duplication and ensure research of high standard in the field of Oriental studies too. Different Oriental Research Institutions of Kashmir may launch some common projects and work in close cooperation. Some of the programmes which may be launched immediately are:-

- 1) Preparation of union catalogue of all Persian and Sanskrit manuscripts available in different libraries of Kashmir. Manuscripts in different private collections may also be included in the union catalogue.
- 2) Microfilming of all manuscripts written in different languages and pertaining to Kashmir to avoid their decay, loss and damage.

3) Editing, translating and publishing of different manuscripts having bearing on history and culture of Kashmir.

4) Identifying different source material on Kashmir available in different libraries/Musems the of world and procuring their xerox/microfilm prints for use by local scholars.

5) Documentation of stone and wooden architecture of Kashmir through photographs, films and other media.

6) Establishing close liaison with national and international institutions having interest in Kashmir studies.

The rich cultural heritage of Kashmir preserved in manuscripts/Museum objects need proper upkeep, preservation and documentation. Different Oriental Research Institutions of Kashmir can play an important role in this behalf.

Notes and References

1. T. D. Pearson, *Oriental and Asian Bibliography*, Bombay, Wills, 1966. page 3.
2. The term Kashmiriology is said to have been used for the first time by Prof. P. N. Pushp in 1960 in his article "Pre-Requisites of Kashmir" published in "*Kashmir Research Bi-annual*" Vol. 1. No 1 1960 page 3.
3. The Research Department has published more than seventy books in Persian, English, Urdu and Sanskrit. Important among them include "*Gilgit Manuscripts*" *Lalleshwari-Vakyani*, '*Kashmir Shaivism*, all edited by J. C. Chatterji, *Tarik-e-Hassan*, *Tarik-e-Kastawar*, etc.
4. The descriptive catalogue has not been published so far but the Cen-

tre of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University has brought out handlists in cyclostyted form and the work is going on to print the handlists.

5. The second issue of the *Research Bi-annual* was published after a lapse of 16 years followed by another issue. It is believed that the fourth issue of the journal has also been printed a decade ago but the same has not been released so far.

6. R. K. Kaw, "*The Sharda Peetha Research Series*" Vol. 1. No. 1 1959. page 1.

The world is neither illusion (māyā) nor is the substantiality of Shankara... nor an independent reality as in the doctrine of Ramanuja. 1. The relation between God and his world as creator and creature is effectively consummated by the concept of reality as all-pervading, all-inclusive and without any negation or otherness. Though there are many grades of reality, the order of reality which exists independently of the ideas concerning it is one. Being of the world is in no way other than the Pure Being. But the whole scheme the hierarchy of creatures from Pure Being down to Unborn is its revelation. The absolute transcendence of pure Being is left intact.

Ultimate Reality as withdrawn from all experience and to the exclusion of all relations is a transcendent everlastings. It is "a separation" though there is nothing from which it is separated, it is loneliness though there is nothing for which it feels lonely. He is consciousness though there is nothing of whose consciousness he is conscious. He is subject to no object for he is an experiencer with no experience". But with reference to His creation - which is the

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a lapse of 16 years followed by another issue. It is believed that
the fourth issue of the journal has also been printed a decade ago
but the same has not been released so far.

3. R. K. Kaul, "The Sharda Script Research Series, Vol. I,
No. 1 1939, page 1.

4. The Sharda Script Research Series, Vol. I, No. 1 1939, page 1.

The Sharda Script Research Series, Vol. I, No. 1 1939, page 1.

Notes and References

1. Dr. B. B. Bhattacharya, *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bombay*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1939, page 1.

2. The Sharda Script Research Series, Vol. I, No. 1 1939, page 1.

3. The Sharda Script Research Series, Vol. I, No. 1 1939, page 1.

4. The Sharda Script Research Series, Vol. I, No. 1 1939, page 1.

CONCEPT OF REALITY IN KASHMIR SHAIVAISM AND SUFISM

Gulshan Majeed

God, Man and the Universe form one fundamental reality separated and differentiated only by the thirty six (36) *tatvas* the principles of limitation¹. A Sufi (Mohi-u-Din ibn Arabi, Sheikh Shihab-u-Din Suhrawardi Maqtul) joins the Shaivists of Kashmir to affirm that, there cannot be two independent or more orders of reality². And what separates them from other monistic or monotheistic schools is their total negation of the absolute distinction which the latter preserve between the creator and the creature. The only substantial difference entertained here is that of the dependence of the particular existence on Him³. God of Mysticism is the creator - creature⁴, i.e. God manifested by the theophanic imagination (Al Haqq-al-Mutakhayyal)⁵.

The world is neither illusion (ignorance) as in the *advaitavāda* of Shankara... nor an independent reality as in the *dvaitavāda* of Ramanuja...⁶. The relation between God and his world as creator and creature is effectively consummated by the concept of reality as all pervading, all inclusive and without any negation or otherness. Though there are many grades of reality, the order of reality which exists independently of the ideas concerning it is one⁷. Being of the world is in no way other than the Pure Being. Both the schools derive the hierarchy of creatures from Pure Being itself Universe is His revelation. The absolute transcendence of pure Being is kept intact⁸.

Ultimate Reality as withdrawn from all experience and to the exclusion of all relations is a transcendent everlastingness⁹. It is 'a separation' though there is nothing from which it is separated, it is loneliness though there is nothing for which it feels lonely. He is consciousness though there is nothing of whose consciousness he is conscious. He is subject to no object He is an experient with no experience¹⁰. But with reference to His revelation — which is the

exteriorization of His I-ness (I consciousness),¹¹ —He is what He is. It is the identification of his essential relation with the theophany of his primordial nature¹².

Idea of creation is Epistemologically speaking foreign to both Sha'ivism and Sufism¹³. Universe is His revealed state, He otherwise being hidden. There is no real becoming. What is, is a continuous passage from eternity to everlastingness. Creation is in fact only a divine process of self illumination or self unveiling of the pure Being which otherwise knows no change¹⁴.

Creation of the world and its withdrawal to the original divine nature is the exhalation and the inhalation of the divine breath (*Nafs i-Rahmani*)¹⁵. It is through it that the world and other bodies receive their form and it is also because of this that differentiation enters the universe¹⁷. Sutra 43 of Shaiva Sutras (*Śivasūtra vimārsini* by Jayadev) discussing *Naisargikah prānānām sambandhah* calls this Divine sigh the link or association of the vital life force (*prāṇa*) which has a dual function of manifestation (*sr̥sti*) of the objective world and its withdrawal (*samāhāra*) back to its source."¹⁸ Duality of object and subject, creator and creature, hidden and revealed is the interplay of the life force (*prāṇa*) or exhalation of *Nafs-i-Rahmani*. The active imagination (*Hadrat-al-Khayyāl*) of ultimate Reality (*Haqiqat-i-Kullī*)¹⁹ continues its process of creation through the creative imagination of man²⁰. This is a recurrent process, meaning thereby that there is an uninterrupted flow from the state of latency to the luminous, manifest revealed state.

As the great banyan tree
Lies in the form of potency in the seed
Even so the entire universe with
All the mobile and immobile beings
Lies as a potency in the heart of the Supreme²¹.
To be more precise it is blossoming forth or flowering of the

potentialities. This mode of revelation is called epiphany, theophany (Ibn Arabi) or illumination (S Shhrawardi maqtul)²². Before coming into existence things of the phenomenal world were potentialities in the bosom of the absolute.

Ontologically there is one single being throughout seen as multiplicity and felt as unity *wahdat*²³; whatever is hidden is revealed also and whatever is revealed may pass into potency. In the words of Ibn Alabi, "What you are in your state of latency *Thabut* is what you will be in your realized existence *Zhur*²⁴". What this realized existence is, is not something illusory or an existence existing negatively. It is not even the reflection of the image through mirror (an analogy frequently quoted by mystics)²⁵. It is the theophony of that absolute reality in which existence and essence are spoken of as one because the realized experience and transcendental experient are not the two entities in opposition to each other but the two phases of the same divinity complementing each other²⁶. Then, it is logically inconsistent with the concept of reality, as explained here, to produce something diametrically opposed to it. Reality cannot create its own negation²⁷.

Sufism rejects the notion of creation *ex-nehilo*²⁸ and so does Shaivism. Creation does not come from nothingness; nothingness, as spoken here, may not be confused with the nothingness in affirmative. Nothingness as *shunyavada* of Buddhists and *adam* of the Sufis is the ultimate ground of all particular realities and is beyond all descriptions and beyond all comprehension. In the present context nothingness simply implies the not-He, something other than Him²⁹. Taken as this, nothingness becomes a sort of 'something' outside His divinity, creating a distance between the creator and the created and going essentially contrary to the basic concept of Epiphany. It tries to posit the essential difference (ontological) where there is none³⁰.

Creation blossoms forth from His real self, which is His fundamental being. It is His self revelation and is not outside of

Him. Hence He is known as God, by whom and in whom, all being is created (*al-Haqqul-makhlūq bihi kull shay*)³¹; creation is in fact Shiva in his aspect of Shakti; the terms creator, creature and creation are only a way of speaking about an all inclusive Reality seen through the veil of limitation³².

So what is commonly known as creation is in fact (in the present context) only his Epiphany (*Tajalli*) or revelation³⁴. It is the revelation of Himself in Himself. It is through this revelation that He comes to know Himself. As in creative Arts it is said that an artist creates himself, discovers himself and knows himself through his art so is said about God and His theophany which is His creation. Revelation itself is of the nature of consciousness. It is just the I-consciousness without any reference. This consciousness of I-ness does not create a gap between the knower and the known³⁶. It is not the consciousness of something. It is the consciousness itself—pure and simple—a consciousness which is non-positional³⁷. "For the vision that a being has of himself in himself is not the same as that which another reality procures for him because it is one with the consciousness of which it is the consciousness"³⁸. Though this I-ness does not exist before consciousness, it is not the consciousness which produces it. Consciousness is not passive; it is active and characterizes that being which though prior to it is in fact one with it³⁹. It is, what Jean Paul Sartre expresses as "plenum of being"⁴⁰. It is a hazy (*asphuta*) experience of I-ness⁴¹. It is the epiphany to itself of divine essence⁴². The "primordial existention" thus emerging is termed as "cloud"⁴³. Though there is no differentiation in the primordial oneness (*Haqiqat - ul - wujud*) but the process sets in. It is the first manifestation known to Shaivites as *Sadakhya Tattva*. It is the vision of himself in Himself⁴⁴. From the core of this being arises the consciousness of this consciousness and creates a "synthetic order of its possibilities" which are His Essences⁴⁵. As the essences are not something given there outside His Absolute Being, subject object relation can only be implied; actually it does not exist. This is second manifestation. For the Shaivites this manifestation has two steps. The universal experience of Ishvara—this I am, and the universal

experience called *paraparadasa* at sadvidya stage⁴⁶. It is the physical reproduction of the universe which is in this case, his own Universal Being. These Essences (psychical reproduction of the universe) are the archetypes of the phenomenal world. The absolute Being has these essences not something other than Him but as his personal aspects which have further been explained as being, the *Asmai - Husna* (Divine names)⁴⁷.

Against the reflective character of this revelation the third and last revelation is refractive in nature. This revelation creates the formal world, and here emerges the essential relation of subject and object⁴⁸.

Thus there seems to emerge, epistemically two realities which are truly, only two aspects of the same Reality known to Sufis as *Hahut*, the highest reality in its purest form⁴⁹. *Hahut* is Shiva in precosmic state i.e. in a *nirvibagha*⁵⁰ (undifferentiated) condition. The two aspects of the *Hahut*⁵¹ are:-

- (a) *alam-al-Mithal* the informal manifestation. World of divine immensity, world of all powerful. It is the essential reality of all things (*al-Haqiqah*), world of Universal Experience.
- (b) *alam-i-Wajud Ayni*⁵² phenomenal world of multiplicity and change, the formal world, world of determination. It is corporeal world. It is the world of limited Experience.

The same is implied when Quran mentions Him as *al Batin* (Interior) and *al Zahir* (exterior)⁵³. *Alam - al - Jabrut* is the universe of pure order. All the three divine "elements" of *Icchā* (will) *Jnāna* (knowledge) and *Kriyā* (action) are in complete harmony and freedom (*svātantrya*). *Alam-wajud ayni* is the lower order of individual limited experience. It is the place for three dimensional bodies⁵⁴.

Corresponding to these two worlds, there are two Epiphanies - though we have earlier spoken of three the one we are aware as pre reflecto-cogito-a mere intentness to create - a hazy (asphuta) experience-the one in which He is called asama (cloud). Both the Schools, Shaivite and Sufi, accept them as the two fold process of manifestation. The first manifestation, i. e. an occasion (*fayd-al-aqdas*)⁵⁶ in the world of mystery (*alam-al-Ghaayb*), is the sacrosanct Effusion. It is the intimate experience of Himself in Himself in the form of His Essences or Ideas (Ideas are the potentialities in his divine essence). It is his *amr*, logos or divine order. Shaivits know it as *Vimrsa Shakti*, in which case process of revealing is called Abhasana⁵⁸. Divine order is Reality of Realities (Haqiqat al Haqiq). It is the intermediary between non manifestation and manifestation or between non-conditional Being and conditional Existence. Being the experience of the Highest Reality it is to be real. Universe at this stage is in the *menok* form (hidden) though not in disorderly or in a chaos as understood by Zoroastrians,⁵⁷ (Ibn Arabi explains it as an amorphous. (musawi) world, without a qualitative imprint). Universe resides in the divine mind or divine order as the Essence of His Being. It is with reference to this that Shaikh Shihab-u-din Suhrawardi considers the world to be actual in its being and potential in its Essences. World is actual because it is the very Epiphany of the Ultimate Reality but so far its real Essences are considered it is but a determination and determination is a limitation⁵⁸. Thus, we may say with Hegel that to know the proper measure of a thing it is to know its essence with reference to Being qua Being Both the schools accept the priority of Being over essence⁵⁹.

The manifestation of the universe is a purely ideal one; and being ideal, it is the perfect and pure way or Order (*shuddhadvan*) without any blemish in it. In these purely ideal states of manifestation, i e, in the pure order, the things are realized as they truly are, therefore, they are the regions of pure and true knowledge (*sad vidya* or *shuddha vidya*)⁶⁰.

Second manifestation is the experience of the limited

Beings. Ibn Arabi calls this hierophanic Effusion ((*fayd-i-Muqadas*)⁶¹. This is the particularizing phase of the development. It brings to light those forms which receive the reflection of pure Divine Essences in proportion to their respective capacities⁶².

This two fold (scheme of) Epiphany makes possible a three fold division of the universe⁶³. All the three worlds, which thus emerge are in fact the states in the process of individualization of the Absolute Reality. The three worlds according to the degree of their respective limitations are :-

(i) World of intelligences⁶⁴ Divine nature, Asmaia ideal universe,
 Husna Logos, proto world of
 types of all that is in bliss
 the world

(ii) World of souls,⁶⁵ (a) Universal Souls *ruhi kulli*, souls after
 liberation (disengagement) from bodies
 participate in it

 (b) Individual souls reside in bodies *atma*
 (mystics speak of Divine soul as well. Like *atma* it is
 the very nature of divinity)

(iii) World of bodies⁶⁶. limited particular experience. world of
 Bodies receive the forms Action, or
 from world of bliss. So Kriya
 forms are not the cause of
 impurity. Here too Ibn Arabi
 and Shaivites are in agree-
 ment with each other⁶⁷

All the three worlds are real by the very nature of the relation which they have with the absolute Reality⁶⁷. Individual souls do not exist free in nature ; they are attached to bodies and if and when Liberated merge with the universal soul⁶⁹.

World of bodies is to be understood in its relation to another (borrowing from Hegel this another need to be one entity in addition to the immediately given; It may simply be the recognition that the given has limitation)⁷⁰.

When Epiphany is the mode of creation nothing really can be contingent. Bodies are necessarily in His essential nature. Bodies possess all the three dimensions and are governed by their relation to time and space⁷¹. Like the whole manifestation bodies are bipolar;⁷² on the one hand they are related to the supreme Reality as His extension and projection and on the other hand they are related to other entities mental as well as physical⁷⁴. As projection of supreme Reality they are real and actual and as the components of physical and psychical relations they are limited and determined⁷⁵.

It is with reference to this world that copula 'is' really belongs to him. This world of individual existences 'comes up with such necessary relations through which He is comprehensible and describable. Excluded, deprived and isolated of all these relations He is platonic paradox—He is and He is not. All this manifestation is His—isness⁷⁶.

In the forgoing discussion a picture emerges where Shaivists of Kashmir and Sufis are in agreement on the following points :-

1. Reality is one.
 - 1.1. Reality is of the nature of consciousness.
 - 1.2. There are only degrees of reality.

There is no unreality or falsity.
2. In the strict sense there is no concept of 'creation'
 - 2.1. Creation ex-nihilo is totally ignored.
 - 2.2. World is His revelation.
 - 2.2.1. Being revelation it is His (universal) experience.
 - 2.2.2. Mode of revelation is known as theophany of Epiphany.
 - 2.3.1. There is two fold process of Epiphany.

- 2.3.2 First Epiphany resides in the Divine mind as the Essence of His Being.
- 2.3.3 2nd Epiphany is the exteriorization of His essential Nature
- 3. According to the degree of limitation or capacity to receive the Epiphany there emerge three worlds.
 - 3.1.1. World of intelligences (word of presiding deities)
 - 3.1.2. World of souls
 - 3.1.3. World of Bodies
- 4. Form, time and space are not outside His consciousness
 - 4.1. They are limits of individual experiences.
 - 4.2. Form is obscurity.
 - 4.3. Obscurity is darkness
 - 4.5. Darkness is light by implication.
- 5. Nothing can really be contingent; things are determined from a necessity of Divine nature not only to exist but to exist and act in a certain manner.
- 5 2. He is a creator-creature (al Haq al Makhluq)

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Reality, as spoken here is of the nature of an Experience. It is psychical as well as corporeal as it is transcendental as well as physical. No category (mental or physical) can deny any particular piece of reality its (rightful) position in the hierarchy of Reality.
2. There are two types of experience, universal and limited experience. Limited experience is the experience of the world in its numerous relations. It is classification of entities (given as well as possible) under a set of principles for logical considerations.
3. Man is the perfection of God's purpose in the world. For the mystics God has created man in his own image.
4. *Tatavas* are 36 in number They are the principles of Limitation. *Tatavas* are both Essences of Paramasiva (in which case they are spiritual, and universal) and accidents of things (in which case they are secondary in nature). *Tatavas* as accidents are the

individuation of the things. Essences provide the basic material (spiritual) to things thus manifested.

5. (a) Muhy-u-Din Ibn Arabi, (1165-1240) known also as *al Shaikh al Akbar* in 1184 met his father's friend Ibn Rushd (Averroes), the famous Muslim philosopher who wrote *Tahafut al Tahafut al Philosofo* in reply to Ghazal's *Destruction of Philosophy*; Ibn Arabi wrote over 300 books.

b) Shaikh Shihabu-Din Suhrawardi-Maqtul played a great role in the intellectual and spiritual life of Islam. Born at Suhraward (Zinjan) in 1153, he founded the mystic school of *ishraq* (illumination). There are about fifty titles of Suhraward's writings; for further readings see *History of Muslim Philosophy* ed. by M. M. Sharif Lahor, p. 77.

6. *Fusus I* Ed. A. E. Affifi 1946,—"The inward says no when outward says I am; and outward says no when inward says I am, and so in the case of every pair of contraries, the speaker is one and he is identified with the hearer." We find in the *Sivadrsti* of Somananda edited by Madhusudan Koul, the statement "*bhavati Siva mamātmā sarva-bhavana sarvah*." The knower of the Siva ultimately becomes Siva himself.

7. *Māyā* as understood by *advaitavāda* and other non-Shaivite schools is the falsity or the non-reality vis-a-vis the Supreme Reality. But the Shaivites believe the world as one of His aspects which is as real as His own Reality.

8. According to Shankara (785-820 A. D.) Brahman is the only reality which is nondual; world is mere *vivṛta*.

9. Ramanuja says, "*tat tvam asi* does not convey the idea of absolute unity of a non-differenced substance". See C. D. Sharma, *Indian Philosophy*, Banaras, 1952, p. 514.

10. Phenomena is the determination of what is indeterminate. He is determinate because He wills to be. He wills to be known. It is Siva knowing his self to be in the objects who ultimately exists "*nānābhāvaih svam ātmānam jānan asti svayam Sīvah*".

11. *Fusus*, "He is called the first and the last ; the external and the internal, He is the essence of what is manifested and of that which remains latent—."
12. Jaidev Singh, *Siva Sutras*, Motilal Banarsidas, New Delhi, 1979, p 14.
13. Ibid.
14. Corbin, Henry, *Creative Imagination* of Ibn Arabi. tr. Ralph Manhein, Princeton University press, 1969 P. 226, fn. 21. "Hence mawjud and marhum are interchangeable terms."
15. Phenomena is one of his aspects. It does not come into being. It is manifestation of what is already present in Him in its latency.
16. J. Singh, Ibid p. 14.
17. Ibid.
18. Corbin, Ibid pp. 185, 186.
19. Ibid and J. Singh *Siva Sutras* sutra 43, pp. 225, 226, 227.
20. J. Singh, sutra 44, p. 227.
21. Corbin, Ibid, 188 also *Wisdom of Prophets*, English tr. (by Angela Culme, Seymoor) of Burckhardt's French translation of *Fusus al Hikam* of Ibn Arabi, pp. 16, 17, 18.
22. Corbin, ibid.
23. As multiplicity he is called *Pasvātman*, the limited percliver "some times appearing as ignorant one and sometimes existing as without division," Kaw, R. K. *Doctrine of Recognition* Vishvesharanand Institute Hoshiarpur, Panjab, 1967, p. 37.
24. Ibn al Arabi, *Fusus* p. 131.
25. "Phenomenal universe which exists in *Paramasiva* in the form of pure consciousness appears, by stages, in its phenomenal aspect in the manner of a reflection appearing in a mirror" But the *Siva Sūtras* are careful to distinguish between a mirror which reflects outward objects and the mirror which reflects its own power.
26. Kaw. R. K. Ibid p. 73.

27. Francis Herbert Bradley. *Appearance and Reality*, II, London-1897.
28. Corbin, Henry, *creative Imagination* p. 182, *Quran* XIX, 67 speaks of creation ex-nihilo.
29. Corbin, *ibid*; also Shienichi Hisamatsu, "the Characteristics of Oriental Nothingness" in *Philosophic al Studies of Japan*, vol. II. 1960 pp. 65-67, Nothingness has a double meaning; nothingness as "the authentic being" is identified with the Being It is indetermined fullness. In its second meaning it is the actual nothingness.
30. Corbin. Henry, *Creative Imagination of Ibn Arabi* p. 186.
31. *Ibid* p. 186.
32. The existence of the created beings is nothing but the very Essence of the creator (*Wajudal makhluqat ain wajud al Khalik*). Also in *Siva Drsti* II. 3,4, we find the following, "Hence whether in world of object or mental apprehension of it, there is no state which is not Siva. It is only the experient who always and every where exists in the form of the experienced.
33. Ibn Arabi, *Fusus tr.* Titus Burckhardt p. 10 fn. 15.
34. *Ibid* p 15; Ibn al Arabi, *Sheikh Shihabu Din Suhrawardi Maqtul* and some 200 years before both of them, al *farabi* considered revelation a function of the imagination.
35. J. Singh, *ibid*, *sūtra* I, p. II, Ibn al Arabi, *Wisdom* p. 8. Sartre *Being and Nothingness*, Simon and Schustei division, 1966 p. 11, J. M. E. McTaggart writes in the *Nature of Existence* Cambridge, 1972, p. 11, 76 that it is impossible to know the 'I' except by acquaintance. This pre reflective consciousness of consciousness is just that acquaintance with 'I'; see also B. Russell. *The Problems of Philosophy* pp, 50, ff.
36. J. Singh, *ibid*, *Sūtra* 1,7.
37. Sartre, *the Transcendence of the Ego*, p. 41, also. *Being and Nothingness* p. 15.
38. Ibn Arabi, *Wisdom*. p. 8.
39. Sartre, *ibid*, p. 16.

40. *Ibid*

41. Kaw, *Ibid* p. 68. also J. Singh *Ibid*, introduction p. viii.

42. Ibn Arabi, *Wisdom* p. 8.

Both Shaivism and Sufism speak of the Divine desire to see and know itself. Thus He made the creation in His own image,

43. Corbin, *Ibid* pp. 184-185. It is a high experience of I-ness.

44. *Siva Drsti* *ibid* IV, p. 47, *Tasmat sa eva bhagavan eva svayam prakalpati Tatha. Tatha bhava rupaih san eva paramesverah.*

45. Sartre, *Being and Nothingness* p. 15,

46. J. Singh *Ibid*, ix,

The experience at the triple order of pure way stage creates an intermediary world, also known as *alam al Mithal* (world of analogy) It is not the world of illusion, it is as real as the Parama Śiva.

47. *Fusus 1*, Asmai Husna: They are the archetypes or ideas in the Divine mind. Individual beings are the epiphanic forms of these Divine names. They are not to be confused with platonic Ideas which are passive and immovable. Divine Names invest attributes with concrete forms. They are sometimes identified with Divine Essences. It is through them that God knows itself. They are also spoken of as hypostates or lords of species. *Sadā Śiva Ishvara Śuddhvidyā* are the states, in the process of unfolding. The formal world is the individuations of these states. Thus we may compare these Śiva states with the Divine Names (of course with reservations)

48. The relation is not a permanent or irreversible one,

49. Ibn Arabi, *op cit.* p. 7. *Hahut* is the transcendental reality, in its purest form.

50 J. Singh, *Ibid*, Śiva in its undifferentiated condition, in its primordial condition. It is neither active nor passive.

51. Kashani, *Ibid* 272.

52. Ibn al Arabi *op. cit.* p. 14.

53. *Ibid*, p. 16.

54. *Ibid*, p. 14.
55. Corbin *Ibid*, p. 105.
56. J Singh, *ibid*.
57. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Religion of Ancient Iran*, tr. K. M. Jamasp Asa, Tata press limited, Bombay, 1973-p. 218]
58. Ibn al Arabi, *op. cit.* fn. pp. 9.
59. Essence is subordinated to Being. But then the Divine Essences are not something out-side the Divine being; Individual existents are the epiphanic forms of these Essences.
60. J, C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism* p. 74-75.
61. Corbin *ibid*, 195.
62. Distance from the source of light determines the capacity of individual existent.
63. In fact these three worlds are the three factors of the same aspect of Divine manifestation, knowledge, consciousness and life. Every lower world depends for its existence on the higher one. Kashani p. 272 in his commentary mentions five worlds :
 (a) world of ideas (b) world of spirits (c) world of thinking soul
 (d) world of archetype-image (e) sensible world.
64. World of intelligences :
 world of jabrut or lords of the species; Śiva in his shakti aspect, is full with creative urge; cf Chatterji *ibid*; p. 110.
65. World of immaterial souls. Shaivists believe that even Śiva has his particular soul. Sufi's like ibn Arabi, Suhrawardi (Maqtul) also believe in Divine soul.
66. World of bodies is also designated as *alam al Maluk* (human world).
67. Corbin, *ibid* fn. 22 p 363, Ibn al Arabi explains the impurity as the distance or distraction from one or more *Hadarats* (Divine presences).

68. Somananda, *ibid.* p. 4, 5, of Kak, *ibid.* p. 103, *Ichchavantah sarva eva vyāpakas ca samastakah amurtas ca tatha sarve sarvejnanakriyat makah prabhāvas ca tathā sarve icchamarsas tathā khilah* (though things are diverse yet they are one. They possess all the characteristics of Śiva
69. Sutra 43, has this to add, "The Divine consciousness with a desire to display the variegated panorama of the universe at first adopts the principle of contraction, assumes the state of limited experients (Jivas) who are a form of prāṇa, the universal life, and also appears in the form of the world as *grāhya* or object.
70. Hegel *Science of Logic*, tr. Miller, Allen and Unwin, 1969.
71. Form, Time and space are included in the nature of Divine consciousness because of which only they can appear. They are not by themselves impure. They are the constituents of an experience (individual) with reference to which an occasion is said to happen. Suhrawardi explains form as an obscurity which veils things but, then, he explains obscurity not as duality but as the light by implication.
72. Whitehead, *Process of Reality*, New York. 1929.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. Rudolph Otto, *Mysticism and the West*, United States, 1962. p. 104, His application of the copula "is" is quite contrary to mine, I have used it in the significant logical context while he strips it of its logical context and uses it to indicate the Reality which admits of no duality.
76. Somananda, 110, "*evam sarvesu bhāvesu sarvasamyē vyavasthite tena sarva-gatam sarvam siva rupam nirūpitam*".

68. Semantics, Vol. 4, p. 4, of Kas. 1947, p. 100. The author states that the speaker is interested in the content of the utterance, not in the form of the utterance. This is a very important point, and it is one that is often overlooked. The author also states that the speaker is interested in the content of the utterance, not in the form of the utterance. This is a very important point, and it is one that is often overlooked.
69. Semantics, Vol. 4, p. 4, of Kas. 1947, p. 100. The author states that the speaker is interested in the content of the utterance, not in the form of the utterance. This is a very important point, and it is one that is often overlooked. The author also states that the speaker is interested in the content of the utterance, not in the form of the utterance. This is a very important point, and it is one that is often overlooked.
70. The Science of Logic, by L. J. Alston and G. E. Hughes, 1947.
71. Form, Time and Space are included in the notion of being. This is a very important point, and it is one that is often overlooked. The author also states that the speaker is interested in the content of the utterance, not in the form of the utterance. This is a very important point, and it is one that is often overlooked.
72. The Science of Logic, by L. J. Alston and G. E. Hughes, 1947.
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